



H. U. MAXWELL

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THE
History of Randolph County,

West Virginia.

From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present.

EMBRACING RECORDS OF ALL THE LEADING FAMILIES, REMINISCENCES
AND TRADITIONS, EARLY LIFE AND HARDSHIPS, INTERNAL IMPROVE-
MENTS, ROADS, MILLS, FORKS, COURTS, OFFICERS, SOLDIERS,
CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, TOWNS, RAILROADS, FORESTS, COAL,
AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES, GIVING SPECIAL
ATTENTION TO THE COUNTY'S MODERN
HISTORY AND IMPROVEMENTS.

THE CIVIL WAR AS IT AFFECTED THE COUNTY AND PEOPLE, FROM THE
OFFICIAL RECORDS BOTH FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE, INCLUDING
PERSONAL SKETCHES AND ADVENTURE. ALSO RANDOLPH'S
PART IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, THE REVO-
LUTION, THE WAR OF 1812, THE MEXICAN
AND THE SPANISH WAR.

—BY—

HU MAXWELL.

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INTRODUCTION.

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RANDOLPH COUNTY was formed from Harrison in 1787 and included all of the present county of Tucker, all of Barbour east of the river, all of Upshur east of Buckhannon River, and a considerable portion of Pocahontas and Webster. It lost territory in 1821 when Pocahontas was formed; again in 1843 when Barbour came into existence, and in 1851 it gave up some of its territory to Upshur, and five years later 350 square miles were cut off to form Tucker; and in 1860 Webster took a strip; and after all of these losses Randolph still is the largest county in the State. The white man's home on the waters of the Monongahela, within West Virginia, was first planted in Randolph. In this county occurred the first Indian massacre in the State. From that beginning, the county has been an historical center down to the present. Great events have occurred here, and men of wide fame have gone forth from the valleys and mountains of the grand old county, and have made their influence felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The writer of this book has attempted to collect, to arrange and preserve traditions, reminiscences, annals, biographies and all kindred elements of history, and save them before too late. The task has not been easy nor the burden light. How well he has succeeded must be judged by others. The field was new; no one had entered it before, and the research through the century or more of neglected and almost forgotten fragments of history was not a holiday excursion.

At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, when the tide of immigration came over the mountains into the Ohio Valley, it came in three great streams, one by way of Cumberland into the lower Monongahela Valley; another, by way of the Greenbrier, into the Kanawha Valley; while the third—which, for some reason, historians have almost totally ignored—pushed along old Indian trails across the Alleghanies into Randolph County, into the Cheat Valley and into the Buckhannon country. This third avenue of immigration is given, in this book, the prominence which it deserves. It was of no less importance in working out the destiny of the West than

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were the great lines of travel to Pittsburg and down the Kanawha. The ancestors of men of international fame came through the wilderness into Tygart's Valley with no guide but obscure Indian trails.

The plan of this book embraces three divisions. The first is a carefully prepared, though condensed, history of West Virginia, as a whole; the second is a strictly county history; and part third is biography. The reason why the State history was included is that comparatively few persons know a history of West Virginia; particularly is this true in the rural districts.

The three departments, united in one volume, supply not only the history of the State, but also the local history of the county, and the family records of thousands of persons who have taken part in the county's affairs.

It is a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge in this place the valuable assistance rendered by others in the work of preparing this book. The people of Randolph in general were willing to assist, and help was obtained from many sources not here enumerated, but special mention should be made of the following persons who supplied information on subjects with which they had special acquaintance: Hon. Thomas J. Arnold, of San Diego, Cal.; Hon. Benjamin Wilson, of Clarksburg; Hon. H. G. Davis, G. W. Prince; Hon. B. W. Smith, of Lafayette, Ind.; Thomas B. Scott, Col. Henry Haysmond, of Clarksburg; Col. Eliho Hutton, Adam C. Rowan, Prof. John G. Knott, of Fairmont; Warwick Hutton, Jacob W. Marshall, Major Joseph F. Harding, Miss Helen M. Womelsdorff, Alfred Hutton, Archibald Wilmot, S. N. Bosworth, Daniel R. Baker, Jacob Wees, L. D. Strader, William E. Wilson, Lee Crouch, Dr. George W. Yokum, Mrs. Nancy Wilmot, Eli H. Crouch, G. C. Lytle, Dr. A. S. Bosworth, Capt. Sampson Snyder, Alexander Logan, Prof. James H. Logan, Col. Melvin Currence, Claude Phillips, H. B. Marshall, John M. Wood, Hon. A. W. Corley, of Sutton; E. D. Talbot, Ezra P. Hart, Hon. Randolph Stainaker, of Wheeling; Hon. Harmon Synder, Kent B. Crawford, Omar Coursat, Patrick Crickard, Jesse W. Goddin and Floyd J. Triplet.

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PART FIRST

State History

CHAPTER I.

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EXPLORATIONS WEST OF BLUE RIDGE.

It is impossible to say when and where the first white man set foot on the soil of what is now West Virginia. In all probability no record was ever made of the first visit. It is well known that adventurers always push into new countries in advance of organized exploring parties; and it is likely that such was the case with West Virginia when it was only an unnamed wilderness. Probably the Indians who waged war with the early colonists of Virginia carried prisoners into this region on their hunting excursions. Sixty-five years were required for the colonists of Virginia to become superficially acquainted with the country as far west as the Blue Ridge, which, until June, 1670, was the extreme limit of explorations in that direction. The distance from Jamestown, the first colony, to the base of the Blue Ridge, was two hundred miles. Nearly three-quarters of a century was required to push the outposts of civilization two hundred miles, and that, too, across a country favorable for exploration, and with little danger from Indians during most of the time. In later years the outposts of civilization moved westward at an average yearly rate of seventeen miles. The people of Virginia were not satisfied to allow the Blue Ridge to remain the boundary between the known and unknown countries; and in 1670, sixty-three years after the first settlement in the State, the Governor of Virginia sent out an exploring party under Captain Henry Batte, with instructions to cross the mountains of the west, seek for silver and gold, and try to discover a river flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Early in June of that year, 1670, the explorers forced the heights of the Blue Ridge which they found steep and rocky, and descended into the valley west of that range. They discovered a river flowing due north. The observations and measurements made by these explorers perhaps satisfied the royal Governor who sent them out; but their accuracy may be questioned. They reported that the river which they had discovered was four hundred and fifty yards wide; its banks in most places one thousand yards high. Beyond the river they said they could see towering mountains destitute of trees, and crowned by white cliffs, hidden much of the time in mist, but occasionally clearing sufficiently to give a glimpse of their ruggedness. They expressed the opinion that those unexplored mountains might contain silver and gold. They made no attempt to cross the river, but set out on their return. From their account of the broad river and its banks thousands of feet high, one might suppose that they had discovered the Canyon of the Colorado; but it was only New River, the principle tributary of the Kanawha. The next year, 1671, the Governor of Virginia sent explorers to continue the work, and they remained a considerable time in the valley of New River. If they penetrated as far as the present territory of West Virginia, which is uncertain,

EXPLORATIONS WEST OF THE BLUE RIDGE.

they probably crossed the line into what is now Monroe or Mercer County. Forty-five years later, 1746, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, led an exploring party over the Blue Ridge, across the Shenandoah River and up the base of the Alleghany Mountains. During hunting and adventures, doubt were by that time acquainted with the geography of the eastern part of the State. Be that as it may, the actual settlement of the eastern part of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire and Hardy was now at hand. The gap in the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry, made by the Potomac breaking through that range, was soon discovered, and through that rocky interval the early settlers found a path into the Valley of Virginia, whence some of them ascended the Shenandoah to Winchester and above, and others continued up the Potomac, occupying Jefferson County and in successive the counties above; and before many years there were settlements on the South Branch of the Potomac. It is known that the South Branch was explored within less than nine years after Governor Spotswood's expedition, and within less than thirteen years there were settlers in that county.

Lord Fairfax claimed the territory in what is now the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia. But his boundary lines had never been run. The grant called for a line drawn from the head of the Potomac to the head of the Rappahannock. Several years passed before it could be ascertained where the fountains of those streams were. An exploring party under William Mayo traced the Potomac to its source in the year 1730, and on December 11 of that year ascertained and marked the spot where the rainfull divides, part flowing into the Potomac and part into Cheat River on the west. This spot was selected as the corner of Lord Fairfax's land; and on October 17, 1746, a stone was planted there to mark the spot and has ever since been called the Fairfax Stone. It stands at the corner of two states, Maryland and West Virginia, and of four counties, Garrett, Preston, Tucker and Grant. It is about half a mile north of the station of Fairfax, on the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railroad, at an elevation of three thousand two hundred and sixteen feet above sea level.

George Washington spent the summer of three years surveying the estate of Lord Fairfax, partly in West Virginia. He began work in 1748, when he was sixteen, and performed it with ability and industry. There were other surveyors employed in the work as well as he. By means of this occupation he became acquainted with the fertility and resources of the new country, and he afterwards became a large land-holder in West Virginia, one of his holdings lying as far west as the Kanawha. His knowledge of the country no doubt had something to do with the organization of the Ohio Company in 1750, which was granted 500,000 acres between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. Lawrence Washington, a half brother of George Washington, was a member of the Ohio Company. The granting of land in this western country no doubt had its weight in hastening the French and Indian War of 1755, by which England acquired possession of the Ohio Valley. The war would have ended sooner or later, and England would have secured the Ohio Valley in the end, and it would have passed ultimately to the United States; but the events were hastened by Lord Fairfax's sending the youthful Washington to survey his lands near the Potomac. While engaged in this work, Washington frequently met small parties of friendly Indians. The presence of these natives was not a rare thing in the South Branch country. Trees are still pointed out as the corners or hilts of arrows made by Washington.

About this time the lands on the Greenbrier River were attracting attention. A large grant was made to the Greenbrier Company; and in 1749 and 1750 John Lewis surveyed this region, and settlements grew up in a short time. The land was no better than the more easily accessible land east of the Alleghany Mountains; but the spirit of adventure which has always been characteristic of the American people, led the daring pioneers into the wilderness west of the mountains, and from that time the outposts of settlement moved down the Greenbrier and the Kanawha, and in twenty-two years had reached the Ohio River. The frontiersmen of Greenbrier were always foremost in repelling Indian attacks and in carrying the war into the enemy's country.

The eastern counties grew in population. Prior to the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1755, there were settlements all along the Potomac River, not only in Jefferson, Berkeley and Hampshire, but also in those counties, as now named, were not in existence at that time.

The Alleghany Mountains served as a barrier for awhile to keep back the tide of emigration from the part of the State lying west of that range; but when peace was restored after the French and Indian War the western valleys soon had their settlements. Explorations had made the country fairly well known prior to that time as far west as the Ohio. Immense tracts of land had been granted in that wilderness, and surveyors had been sent to mark the lines. About the time of the survey of the Greenbrier country, the Ohio Company sent Christopher Gist to explore its lands already granted and to examine West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky for chose locations in view of obtaining future grants. Mr. Gist, a noted character of his time, and a companion of Washington a few years later, performed his task well, and returned with a report satisfactory to his employers. He visited Ohio and Kentucky, and on his return passed up the Kanawha and New Rivers in 1751, and climbed to the summit of the ledge of rocks now known as Hawk's Nest, or Marshall's Pillar, overhanging the New River, and from its summit had a view of the mountains and inhospitable country.

In speaking of the exploration and settlement of West Virginia, it is worthy of note that the Ohio River was explored by the French in 1749; but they attempted no settlement within the borders of this State.

Had Virginia allowed religious freedom, a large colony would have been planted on the Ohio Company's lands, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, about 1750, and this would probably have changed the early history of that part of West Virginia. A colony in that territory would have had its influence in the subsequent wars with the Indians. And when we consider how little was lacking to form a new state, or province, west of the Alleghanies about 1772, to be called Vandalia, it can be understood what the result might have been had the Ohio Company succeeded in its scheme of colonization. Its plan was to plant a colony of two hundred German families on its land. The settlers were to come from eastern Pennsylvania. All arrangements between the company and the Germans were satisfactory, but when the hardy Germans learned that they would be in the province of Virginia, and that they must become members of the English Church or suffer persecution in the form of extra taxes laid on dissenters by the Episcopacy of Virginia, they would not go, and the Ohio Company's colonization scheme failed.

Another effort to colonize the lands west of the Alleghanies, and from which much might have come, also failed. This attempt was made by Virginia. In 1752 the House of Burgesses offered Protestant settlers west of the Alleghanies, in Augusta county, ten years' exemption from taxes; and the offer was subsequently increased to fifteen years' exemption. The war with the French and Indians put a stop to all colonization projects. Virginia had enough to do taking care of her settlements along the western border without increasing the task by advancing the frontier so far westward. The first settlement, if the occupation by three white men may be called a settlement, on the Monongahela was made about 1752. Thomas Dickey and two brothers, from eastern Pennsylvania, took up their home there to escape military duty, they being opposed to war. They wished to live in peace remote from civilized man, but two of them fell victims to the Indians while the third was absent. Prior to 1753 two families had built houses on the headwaters of the Monongahela, in what is now Randolph County. The Indians murdered or drove them out in 1753. The next settlement was by a small colony near Morgantown under the leadership of Thomas Dickey. This was in 1758, while the French and Indian War was at its height. The colony was exterminated by Indians.

In 1763, October 7, a proclamation was issued by the King of England forbidding soldiers from taking up land or occupying it west of the Alleghanies until the country had been bought from the Indians. It is not known what caused this sudden desire for justice on the part of the king, since nearly half the land west of the Alleghanies, in this State, had already been granted to companies or individuals; and, since the Indians did not occupy the land and there was no tribe within reach of it with any right to claim it, either by occupation, compact or discovery. Governor Fauquier, of Virginia, issued three proclamations warning soldiers west of the mountains to withdraw from the lands. No attention was paid to the proclamations. The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania were ordered, 1763, to remove the settlers by force. In 1765 and the next year soldiers from Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, were sent into West Virginia to dispossess the settlers. It is not probable that the soldiers were over zealous in carrying out the commands, for the injustice and nonsense of such orders must have been apparent to the dullest soldier in the West. Such soldiers as were driven away returned, and affairs went on as usual. Finally Pennsylvania bought the Indian lands within its borders, but Virginia, after that date, never paid the Indians for any lands in West Virginia. The foregoing order was the first one forbidding settlements in West Virginia north of the Kanawha and west of the Alleghanies. Another order was issued ten years later. Both were barren of results. The second will be spoken of more at length in the second of the incorporation of part of Ohio in the Province of Quebec.

Settlements along the Ohio, above and below Wheeling, were not made until six or seven years after the close of the French and Indian War. About 1770 and 1771 the Wetzel and Zanes took up land in that vicinity, and others followed. Within a few years Wheeling and the territory above and below, formed the most prosperous community west of the Alleghanies. That part of the State suffered from Indians who came from Ohio, but the attacks of the savages could not break up the settlements, and in 1790, two years before the close of the Indian war, Ohio County had more than five thousand inhabitants, and Monongalia had nearly as many.

During the Revolutionary War parts of the interior of the State were

occupied by white men. Harrison County, in the vicinity of Clarksburg and further west, was a flourishing community four or five years before the Revolution. Settlers pushed up the West Fork of the Monongahela, and the site of Weston, in Lewis County, was occupied soon after. Long before that time frontiersmen had their cabins on the Tygart Valley River as far south as the site of Beverly, in Randolph County. The first settlement in Wood County, near Parkersburg, was made 1773, and the next year the site of St. George, in Tucker County, was occupied by a stockade and a few houses. Monroe County, in the southeastern part of the state, was reclaimed from the wilderness fifteen years before the Revolution, and Tyler county's first settlement dates back to the year 1776. Pocahontas was occupied at a date as early as any county west of the Alleghanies, there being white settlers in 1749, but not many. Settlements along the Kanawha were pushed westward and reached the Ohio River before 1776.

The population of West Virginia at the close of the Revolution is not known. Perhaps an estimate of thirty-five thousand would not be far out of the way. In 1790 the population of the territory now forming West Virginia was 55,873; in 1800 it was 78,582, a gain of nearly forty per cent. In ten years. In 1810 the population was 105,469, a gain of thirty-five per cent in the decade. The population in 1820 was 136,768, a gain of nearly twenty-three per cent. In 1830 there were 176,924, a gain in ten years of over twenty-two per cent. In 1840 the population was 224,537, a gain of more than twenty-one per cent. The population in 1850 was 302,813, a gain in the decade of more than twenty-five per cent. In 1860 the population was 376,388, a gain of more than twenty-two per cent. In 1870 the population was 443,014, a gain in ten years of nearly fifteen per cent. In 1880 the population of the State was 614,457, a gain of twenty-six per cent. In 1890 the population of the State was 762,794, a gain of more than twenty-three per cent. in ten years.

Land was abundant and cheap in the early days of West Virginia settlements, and the State was generous in granting land to settlers and to companies. There was none of the formality required, which has since been insisted upon. Pioneers usually located on such vacant lands as suited them, and they attended to securing a title afterwards. What is usually called the "tomahawk right" was no right in law at all; but the persons who had such supposed rights were usually given deeds for what they claimed. This process consisted in deadening a few trees near a spring or brook, and cutting the claimant's name in the bark of trees. This done, he claimed the adjacent land, and his right was usually respected by the frontier people, but there was very naturally a limit to his pretensions. He must not claim too much; and it was considered in his favor if he made some improvements, such as planting corn, within a reasonable time. The law of Virginia gave such settler a title to 400 acres, and a pre-emption to 1,000 more adjoining, if he built a log cabin on the claim and raised a crop of corn. Commissioners were appointed from time to time, some as early as 1773, who visited different settlements and gave certificates to those who furnished satisfactory proof that they had complied with the law. These certificates were sent to Richmond, and if no protest or contest was filed in six months, the settler was given a deed to the land. It can thus be seen that a tomahawk right could easily be merged into a settler's right. He could clear a little land, build his hut, and he usually obtained the land. The good locations were the first taken, and the poorer land was left until

somebody wanted it. The surveys were usually made in the crudest manner, often without accuracy and without ascertaining whether they overlapped some earlier claim or not. The foundation was laid for many future law suits, some of which may still be on the court dockets of this State. It is said that there are places in West Virginia where land titles are five deep. Some of them are old colonial grants, stretching perhaps across two or three counties. Others are grants made after Virginia became a member of the United States. Then follow sales made subsequently by parties having or claiming a right in the land. The laws of West Virginia are such that a settlement of most of these claims is not difficult where the metes and bounds are not in dispute.

After the Revolution Virginia sold its public land usually in the following manner: A man would buy a warrant, for say ten thousand acres, and was given a certificate authorizing him to locate the land wherever he could find it. He could select part of it here, another part there, or he could sell his warrant, or part of it, to some one else, and the purchaser could locate the land. Land warrants were often sold half dozen times. There were persons who grew wealthy buying warrants for large tracts, from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand acres, and selling their warrants to different parties at an advanced price. Nearly all the land in West Virginia west of the Alleghanies, if the title is traced back, will be found to have been obtained originally on these land warrants. The most of the land east of the Alleghanies was originally granted by the King of England to companies or individuals. This title is called a "Crown Grant." There are also a few "Crown Grants" west of the Alleghanies, but the most of the land west of the mountains belonged to the State of Virginia at the close of the Revolution. None of it ever belonged to the United States.

CHAPTER II.

INDIANS AND MOUNDBUILDERS.

Indians enter largely into the early history of the State, and few of the early settlements were exempt from their visitations. Yet, at the time West Virginia first became known to white men, there was not an Indian settlement, village or camp of any considerable consequence within its borders. There were villages in the vicinity of Pittsburg, and thence northward to Lake Erie and westward into Ohio; but West Virginia was vacant: it belonged to no tribe and was claimed by none with shadow of title. There were at times, and perhaps at nearly all times, a wigwam here or there within the borders, but it belonged to temporary sojourners, hunters or fishermen, who expected to remain only a short time. So far as West Virginia is concerned, the Indians were not dispossessed of it by the white man, and they were never justified in waging war for any wrong done them within this State. The white race simply took land which they found vacant, and dispossessed nobody.

There was a time when West Virginia was occupied by Indians, and they were driven out or exterminated; but it was not done by the white race, but by other tribes of Indians, who, when they had completed the work of destruction and desolation, did not choose to settle on the land they had made their own by conquest. This war of extermination was waged between the years 1656 and 1672, as nearly as the date could be ascertained by the early historians, who were mostly missionaries among the tribes further north and west. The conquerors were the Mohawks, a fierce and powerful tribe whose place of residence was in western New York, but whose warlike excursions were carried into Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and even further south. They obtained firearms from the Dutch colonies on the Hudson, and having learned how to use them, they became a nation of conquerors. The only part of their conquests which comes within the scope of this inquiry was their invasion of West Virginia. A tribe of Indians, believed to be the Hurons, at that time occupied the country from the forks of the Ohio southward along the Monongahela and its tributaries, on the Little Kanawha, on the Great Kanawha and to the Kentucky line. During the sixteen years between 1656 and 1672 the Mohawks overran the country and left it a solitude, excepting their conquest to the Guyandotte River. There was scarcely a Huron left to tell the tale in all this State. Genghis Kahn, the Tartar, did not exterminate more completely than did those Mohawks. If there were any Huron refugees who escaped they never returned to their old homes to take up their residence again.

There is abundant evidence all over the State that Indians in considerable numbers once made their home here. Graveyards tell of those who

died in times of peace. Graves are numerous, sometimes singly, sometimes in large aggregations, indicating that a village was near by. Flint arrow heads are found everywhere, but are more numerous on river bottoms and on level land near springs, where villages and camps would most likely be located. The houses of the tribesmen were built of the most flimsy material, and no traces of them are found, except fireplaces, which may occasionally be located on account of charcoal and ash-heaps which remain till the present day and may be unearthed a foot or more below the surface of the ground. Round those fires, if the imagination may take the place of historical records, sat the wild huntmen after the chase was over; and while they cooked their venison they talked of the past and planned for the future, but how long ago no man knows.

As to who occupied the country before the Hurons, or how long the Hurons held it, history is silent. There is not a legend or tradition coming down to us that is worthy of credence. There was an ancient race here which built mounds, and the evidence found in the mounds is tolerably conclusive that the people who built them were here long before any Indians with which we are acquainted. But the consensus of opinion among scholars of today is that the Indians and Mound-builders were the same people. All positive evidence points to that conclusion, while all negative evidence gives way upon being investigated. If the theory of some writers were substantiated, namely, that the Mound-builders were related to the peoples who built the pyramids in Mexico and Central America, it would still show the Mound-builders to have been Indians; for, notwithstanding marked differences in industry, civilization and languages, the Aztecs and Mayas of Mexico were and are Indians as truly as the Turk is a Mongolian. The limits of this work will not permit an extended discussion of the puzzling question of the origin of the Indians. It is a question which history has not answered, and perhaps never will answer. If the answer ever is given it will probably be by geology, for history cannot reach so far into the past. The favorite conclusion of most authors formerly was that America was peopled from Asia by way of Berings Strait. It could have been done. But the hypothesis is as reasonable that Asia was peopled by emigrants from America who crossed Berings Strait. It is the same distance across, going west or coming east; and there is no historical evidence that America was not peopled first; or that both the old world and the new were not peopled at the same time, or that each was not peopled independently of the other. Since the dawn of history, and as far back into prehistoric times as the analysis of languages can throw any light, all great migrations have been westward. No westward migration would have given America its inhabitants from Asia; but a migration from the west would have peopled Asia from America. As a matter of fact, Berings Strait is so narrow that the tribes on either side can cross to the other at pleasure, and with less difficulty than the Amazon river can be crossed near its mouth. It was long the opinion of ethnologists that a comparison of the grammatical construction of a large number of the Indian languages would reveal characteristics showing that all had a common origin. But the study has been barren of results up to the present time. The language of the Indians is a puzzle, unless it be accepted as true that there is no common thread through all leading to one source. There were eight Indian languages east of the Mississippi at the coming of the Europeans.

The fact is so well established that it admits of no doubt that America

was occupied by man long before the dawn of history in the old world or the new. Stone hatchets and other implements of war or the chase, now found buried in the gravel left by ice sheets which covered the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi Valleys show that man were there at a time which, at the lowest estimate, was thousands of years before the date given in chronology for the creation of Adam. America had people who were no doubt coeval with the prehistoric savages who fought tigers and hyenas in the caves of England and France. It is, therefore, an idle waste of time to seek in recorded history for clews to the origin of America's first people. It would be as profitable to inquire whether the oak tree originated in the old world or the new.

The number of Indians inhabiting a given territory was surprisingly small. They could hardly be said to occupy the land. They had settlements here and there. Of the number of Hurons in the limits of this State before the Mohawk invasion, there is no record and no estimate. Probably not more than the present number of inhabitants in the State capital, Charleston. This will appear reasonable when it is stated that, according to the missionary census, in 1640, the total number of Indians in the territory east of the Mississippi, north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the St. Lawrence river, was less than one-fourth of the present population of the State of West Virginia. The total number is placed at 180,000. Nearly all the Indians who were concerned in the border wars in West Virginia lived in Ohio. There were many villages in that State, and it was densely populated in comparison with some of the others; yet there were not, perhaps, fifteen thousand Indians in Ohio, and they could not put three thousand and warriors in the field. The army which General Forbes led against Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) in 1758 was probably larger than could have been mustered by the Indians of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois combined, and the number did not exceed six thousand. The Indians were able to harass the frontier of West Virginia for a quarter of a century by prowling about in small bands and striking the defenseless. Had they organized an army and fought pitched battle they would have been subdued in a few months.

While the Indians roamed over the whole country, hunting and fishing, they yet had paths which they followed when going on long journeys. Those paths were not made with tools, but were simply the result of walking upon them for generations. They nearly always followed the best grades to be found, and modern road-makers have profited by the skill of savages in selecting the most practicable routes. Those paths led long distances, and in one general direction, unvarying from beginning to end, showing that they were not made at haphazard, but with design. Thus, crossing West Virginia, the Catawba warpath led from New York to Georgia. It entered West Virginia from Fayette County, Pennsylvania, crossed Cheat River at the mouth of Grassy Run, passed in a direction south by southwest through the State, and reached the headwaters of the Holston River in Virginia, and thence continued through North Carolina, South Carolina and it is said reached Georgia. The path was well defined when the country was first settled, but at the present time few traces of it remain. It was never an Indian thoroughfare after white men had planted settlements in West Virginia, for the reason that the Indian tribes of Pennsylvania and New York had enough war on hand to keep them busy without making long excursions to the south. It is not recorded that any Indian ever came over this trail to attack the frontiers of West Virginia. The early settlements

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in Pennsylvania to the north of us cut off incursions from that quarter. A second path, called by the early settlers Warrior Branch, was a branch of the Catawba path. That is, they formed one path southward from New York to southern Pennsylvania, where they separated, and the Warner Branch crossed Cheat River at McFarland's, took a southwesterly direction through the State and entered southern Ohio and passed into Kentucky. Neither was this trail much used in attacking the early settlements in this State. It is highly probable that both this and the Catawba path were followed by the Mohawks in their wars against the Hurons in West Virginia, but there is no positive proof that such was the case. Indian villages were always on or near large trails, and by following these and their branches the invaders would be led directly to the homes of the native tribe which they were bent on exterminating.

There were other trails in the State, some of them apparently very old, as if they had been used for many generations. There was one, sometimes called the Eastern Path, which came from Ohio, crossed the northern part of West Virginia, through Preston and Monongalia Counties, and continued eastward to the South Branch of the Potomac. This path was made long before the Ohio Indians had any occasion to wage war upon white settlers, but it was used in their attacks upon the frontiers. Over it the Indians traveled who barnassied the settlements on the South Branch, and later, those on the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers. The settlers whose homes happened to lie near this trail were in constant danger of attack. During the Indian wars, after 1776, it was the custom for scouts to watch some of the leading trails near the crossing of the Ohio, and when a party of Indians were advancing to outran them and report the danger in time for the settlers to take refuge in forts. Many massacres were averted in this way. There was a trail leading from the Ohio River up the Little Kanawha, to and across the Alleghanies, passing through Randolph County.

The arms and ammunition with which the Indians fought the pioneers of this State were obtained from white traders; or, as from 1776 to 1783 or later, were often supplied by British agents. The worst depredations which West Virginia suffered from the Indians were committed with arms and ammunition obtained from the British in Canada. This was during the Revolutionary War, when the British made allies of the Indians and urged them to harass the western frontiers, while the British regular army fought the Colonial army in the eastern States.

CHAPTER III.

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THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

For the first twenty-five years after settlements were commenced in the present territory of West Virginia there was immunity from Indian depredations. There was no occasion for trouble. No tribe occupied the South Branch Valley when the first colony was made; and the outposts of the white man could have been pushed across the State until the Ohio River was reached without taking lands claimed or occupied by Indians, except, perhaps, in the case of two or three very small camps; and this most likely would have been done without conflict with the Indians, had not Europeans stirred up those unfortunate children of the forest and sent them against the colonists. This was done by two European nations, first by France, and afterwards by England. There were five Indian wars waged against West Virginia; the War of 1775 and Pontiac's War of 1763, the Dunmore War of 1774 and the Revolutionary War of 1776, and the war which broke out about 1790 and ended in 1795. In the war beginning in 1755 the French incited and assisted the Indians against the English settlements along the whole western border. In the Revolutionary War the British took the place of the French as allies of the Indians, and armed the savages and sent them against the settlers.

It is proper that the causes bringing about the French and Indian War be briefly recited. No State was more deeply concerned than West Virginia. Had the plan which was outlined by the French been successfully executed, West Virginia would have been French instead of English, and the settlements by the Virginians would not have been carried west of the Alleghany Mountains. The coast of America, from Maine to Georgia, was colonized by English. The French colonized Canada and Louisiana. About the middle of the eighteenth century the design, which was probably formed long before, of connecting Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts and settlements, began to be put into execution by the King of France. The cordon was to descend the Alleghany River from Lake Erie to the Ohio, down that stream to the Mississippi and thence to New Orleans. The purpose was to confine the English to the strip of country between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic Ocean, which would include New England, the greater part of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania, the greater part of Maryland, seven eastern counties of West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The French hoped to hold everything west of the Alleghany Mountains. The immediate territory to be secured was the Ohio Valley. Missionaries of the Catholic Church were the first explorers, not only of the Ohio, but of the Mississippi Valley, almost to the head springs of that river. The French took formal possession of both banks of the Ohio in the summer of 1746, when an expedition under Cap-

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ain Celeron descended that stream and claimed the country in the name of France.

The determination of the Virginians to plant settlements in the Ohio Valley was speedily observed by the French, who set to work to counteract the movement. They began the erection of a fort on one of the upper tributaries of the Alleghany River, and no one doubted that they intended to move south as rapidly as they could erect their cordon of forts. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, decided to send a messenger to the French, who already were in the Ohio Valley, to ask for what purpose they were there, and to inform them that the territory belonged to England. It was a mere diplomatic formality not expected to do any good. This was in the autumn of 1753, and George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, was commissioned to hear the dispatch to the French commander on the Alleghany River. Washington left Williamsburg, Virginia, November 14, to travel nearly six hundred miles through a wilderness in the dead of winter. When he reached the settlement on the Monongahela where Christopher Gist and twelve families had planted a colony, Mr. Gist accompanied him as a guide. The message was delivered to the French commandant, and the reply having been written, Washington and Gist set out upon their return, on foot. The boast of the French that they would build a fort the next summer on the present site of Pittsburg seemed likely to be carried out. Washington counted two hundred canoes at the French fort on the Alleghany River, and he rightly conjectured that a descent of that stream was contemplated. After many dangers and hardships, Washington reached Williamsburg and delivered to Governor Dinwiddie the reply of the French commandant.

It was now evident that the French intended to resist by force all attempts by the English to colonize the Ohio Valley, and were resolved to meet force with force. Governor Dinwiddie called the Assembly together, and troops were sent into the Ohio Valley. Early in April, 1754, Ensign Ward, with a small detachment, reached the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburg now stands, and commenced the erection of a fort. Here began the conflict which raged for several years along the border. The French soon appeared in the Alleghany with one thousand men and eighteen canoes and gave the English one hour in which to leave. Resistance was out of the question, and Ward retreated. The French built a fort which they called Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

The English were not disposed to submit tamely. Virginia and Pennsylvania took steps to recover the site at the forks of the Ohio, and to build a fort there. Troops were raised and placed in command of Colonel Fry, while Washington was made Lieutenant colonel. The instructions from Governor Dinwiddie were explicit, and directed that all persons, not the subjects of Great Britain, who should attempt to take possession of the Ohio River or any of its tributaries, be killed, destroyed or seized as prisoners. When the troops under Washington reached the Great Meadows, near the present site of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, it was learned that a party of about fifty French were prowling in the vicinity, and had announced their purpose of attacking the first English they should meet. Washington, at the head of fifty men, left the camp and went in search of the French, came upon their camp early in the morning, fought them a few minutes, killed ten, including the commander, Jumonville, and took twenty-two prisoners, with the loss of one killed and two or three wounded. The

wounded Frenchmen were tomahawked by Indians who accompanied Washington. The prisoners were sent to Williamsburg, and, at the same time, an urgent appeal for more troops was made. It was correctly surmised that as soon as news of the fight reached Fort Duquesne, a large force of French would be sent out to attack the English. Re-enforcements were raised in Virginia and were advanced as far as Winchester; but, with the exception of an independent company from South Carolina, under Captain Meriwether, no re-enforcements reached the Great Meadows where the whole force under Colonel Fry amounted to less than four hundred men.

The Indians had been friendly with the settlers on the western border up to this time; but the French having supplied them bountifully with presents, induced them to take up arms against the English, and henceforward the colonists were obliged to fight both the French and the Indians. Of the two, the Indians were the more troublesome. They had a deep-seated hatred for the English, who had dispossessed the tribes east of the Alleghanies of their land, and were now invading the territory west of that range. But it is difficult to see wherein they hoped to better their condition by assisting the French to gain possession of the country; for the French were as greedy for land as were the English. However, the majority of the natives could not reason far enough to see that point; and without much investigation they took up arms in aid of the French.

After the brush with Jumonville's party, it was expected that the French in strong force would march from Fort Duquesne to drive back the English. Washington built Fort Necessity about fifty miles west of Cumberland, Maryland, and prepared for a fight. News was brought to him that large re-enforcements from Canada had reached Fort Duquesne; and within a few days he was told that the French were on the road to meet him. Expected re-enforcements from Virginia had not arrived, and Washington, who had advanced a few miles toward the Ohio, fell back to Fort Necessity. There, on the third of July, 1754, was fought a long and obstinate battle. Many Indians were with the French. Washington offered battle in open ground, but the offer was declined, and the English withdrew within the entrenchments. The enemy fought from behind trees, and some climbed to the top of trees in order to get aim at those in the trenches. The French were in superior force and better armed than the English. A rain dampedened the ammunition and rendered many of the guns of the English useless. Washington surrendered upon honorable terms, which permitted his soldiers to retain their arms and baggage, but not the artillery. The capitulation occurred July 4, 1754, just twenty-two years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The French and Indians numbered seven hundred men. Their loss in killed was three or four. The loss of the English was thirty.

When Washington's defeated army retreated from the Ohio Valley, the French were in full possession, and no attempt was made that year to renew the war in that quarter; but the purpose on the part of the English of driving the French out was not abandoned. It was now understood that nothing less than a general war could settle the question, and both sides prepared for it. It was with some surprise, in January, 1755, that a proposition was received from France that the portion of the Ohio Valley between that river and the Alleghanies be abandoned by both the French and the English. The latter, believing that the opportunity had arrived for driving a good bargain, demanded that the French destroy all their forts

as far as the Wabash, raze Niagara and Crown Point, surrender the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and a strip of land sixty miles wide along the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic, and leave the intermediate country as far as the St. Lawrence a neutral desert. France rejected this proposition, and understanding the designs of the English, sent three thousand men to Canada. General Braddock was already on his way to America with two regiments; yet no war had been declared between England and France. The former announced that it would act only on the defensive, and the latter affirmed its desire for peace.

When General Braddock arrived in America he prepared four expeditions against the French, yet still insisting that he was acting only on the defensive. One was against Nova Scotia, one against Niagara, one against Crown Point, and the fourth against the Ohio Valley, to be led by Braddock in person. This last is the only one that immediately concerns West Virginia, and it will be spoken of somewhat at length.

Much was expected of Braddock's campaign. He promised that he would be beyond the Alleghanies by the end of April; and after taking Fort Duquesne, which he calculated would not detain him above three days, he would invade Canada by ascending the Alleghany River. He expressed no concern from attacks by Indians, and showed contempt for American soldiers who were in his own ranks. He expected his British regulars to win the battles. Never had a general gone into the field with so little comprehension of what he was undertaking. He paid for it with his life. He set out upon his march from Alexandria, in Virginia, and in twenty-seven days reached Cumberland with about two thousand men, some of them Virginians. Here Washington joined him as one of his aids. From Cumberland to Fort Duquesne the distance was one hundred and thirty miles. The army could not march five miles a day. Everything went wrong. Wagons broke down, horses and cattle died, Indians harassed the flanks. On June 19, 1755, the army was divided, and a little more than half of it pushed forward in hope of capturing Fort Duquesne before the arrival of reinforcements from Canada. The progress was yet slow, altogether the heaviest baggage had been left with the rear division. Not until July 8 was the Monongahela reached. This river was forded, and marching on its southern bank, Braddock decided to strike terror to the hearts of his enemies by a parade. He drew his men up in line and spent an hour marching to and fro, believing that the French were watching his every movement from the bluffs beyond the river. He wished to impress them with his power. The distance to Fort Duquesne was less than twelve miles. He recrossed the river at noon. This was July 9. The troops pushed forward toward the fort, and while cutting a road through the woods, were assailed by French and Indians in ambush. The attack was as unexpected as it was violent. It is not necessary to enter fully into details of the battle which was disastrous in the extreme. The regular soldiers were panic stricken. They could do nothing against a concealed foe which numbered eight hundred and sixty-seven, of which only two hundred and thirty were French. About the only fighting on the side of the English was done by the Virginians under Washington. They prevented the slaughter of the whole army. Of the three companies of the Virginians, scarcely thirty remained alive. The battle continued two hours. Of the eighty-six officers in the army, twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven were wounded. One-half of the army was killed or wounded. Washington had two horses killed under him and four bullets

passed through his coat; yet he was not wounded. The regulars, when they had wasted their ammunition in useless firing, broke and ran like sheep, leaving everything to the enemy. The total loss of the English was seven hundred and fourteen killed and wounded. Braddock had five horses shot under him, and was finally mortally wounded and carried from the field.

The battle was over. The English were flying toward Cumberland, throwing away whatever impeded their retreat. The dead and wounded were abandoned on the field. Braddock was borne along in the rout, conscious that his wound was mortal. He spoke but a few times. Once he said: "Who would have thought it!" and again: "We shall know better how to deal with them another time." He no doubt was thinking of his refusal to take Washington's advice as to guarding against ambuscades. Braddock died, and was buried in the night about a mile west of Fort Necessity. Washington read the funeral service at the grave.

When the fugitives reached the division of the army under Dunbar, which had been left behind and was coming up, the greatest confusion prevailed. General Dunbar destroyed military stores to the value of half a million dollars. In his terror he destroyed all he had, and when he recovered his senses he was obliged to send to Cumberland for provisions to keep his men alive until he could reach that place. He did not cease to retreat until he reached Philadelphia, where he went into winter quarters. The news of the defeat spread rapidly, and the frontier from New York to North Carolina prepared for defense, for it was well known that the French, now flushed with victory, would arm the Indians and send them against the exposed settlements. Even before the defeat of Braddock a taste of Indian warfare was given many outposts. After the repulse of the army there was no protection for the frontiers of Virginia except such as the settlers themselves could provide. One of the first settlements to receive a visit from the savages was in Hampshire County. Braddock's defeated army had scarcely withdrawn before the Indians appeared near the site of Romney and fired at some of the men near the fort, and the fire was returned. One man was wounded, and the Indians, about ten in number, were driven off. Early the next spring a party of fifty Indians, under the leadership of a Frenchman, again invaded the settlements on the Potomac, and Captain Jeremiah Smith, with twenty men, went in pursuit of them. A fight occurred near the source of the Capon, and the Frenchman and five of his savages were killed. Smith lost two men. The Indians fled. A few days later a second party of Indians made their way into the country, and were defeated by Captain Joshua Lewis, with eighteen men. The Indians separated into small parties and continued their depredations for some time, appearing in the vicinity of the Evans fort, two miles from Martinsburg, and here they made an attack on Neally's fort, and in that vicinity committed several murders. A Shawnee chief named Killbuck, whose home was probably in Ohio, invaded what is now Grant and Hardy Counties in the spring of 1756, at the head of sixty or seventy savages. He killed several settlers and made his escape. He appeared again two years later in Pendleton County, where he attacked and captured Fort Seybert, twelve miles west of the present town of Franklin, and put to death more than twenty persons who had taken refuge in the fort. The place no doubt could have made a successful resistance had not the inmates trusted to the promise of safe conduct made by the Indians, who thus were admitted into the fort, and at

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once massacred the settlers. In 1758 the Indians again invaded Hampshire County and killed a settler near Forks of Capon. This same year eight Indians came into the country on the South Branch of the Potomac, near the town of Petersburg, and attacked the cabin of a man named Bingsman. They had forced their way into the house at night, and being at too close quarters for shooting, Bingsman clubbed his rifle and beat seven of them to death. The eighth made his escape. In 1752 the Indians committed depredations on the Monongahela River near Morgantown.

The settlement on the Roanoke River in Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains, was the theatre of much bloodshed in 1756 by Indians from Ohio who made their way, most probably, up the Kanawha and New River, over the Alleghenies. An expedition against them was organized in the fall of 1756, under Andrew Lewis, who eighteen years later, commanded the Virginians at the battle of Point Pleasant. Not much good came of the expedition which marched, with great hardship, through that part of West Virginia south of the Kanawha, crossed a corner of Kentucky to the Ohio River, where an order came for the troops not to cross the Ohio nor invade the country north of that river. They returned in dead of winter, and suffered extremely from hunger and cold. This is notable from the fact that it was the first military expedition by an English speaking race to reach the Ohio River south of Pittsburgh.

During the three years following Braddock's defeat the frontier was exposed to incessant danger. Virginia appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of all forces raised or to be raised in that State. He traveled along the frontier of his State, inspecting the forts and trying to bring order out of chaos. His picture of the distress of the people and the horrors of the Indian warfare is summed up in these words, addressed to the Governor of Virginia: "The supplicating tears of the women, and the moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I would offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." He found no adequate means of defense. Indians butchered the people and fled. Pursuit was nearly always in vain. Washington insisted at all times that the only radical remedy for Indian depredation was the capture of Fort Duquesne. So long as that rallying point remained the Indians would be armed and would harass the frontiers. But, in case the reduction of Fort Duquesne could not be undertaken, Washington recommended the erection of a chain of twenty-two forts along the frontier, to be garrisoned by two thousand soldiers.

In 1756 and again in 1757 propositions were laid before the Government of Virginia, and also before the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, by Washington for the destruction of Fort Duquesne. But in neither of these years was his proposition acted upon. However, the British were waging a successful war against the French in Canada, and by this were indirectly contributing to the conquest of the Ohio Valley. In 1758 all was in readiness for striking a blow at Fort Duquesne with the earnest hope that it would be captured and that rallying point for savages ultimately destroyed. The settlements in the eastern part of West Virginia were nearly broken up. Only two frontier forts west of Winchester held out, exclusive of military posts. Both were in Hampshire County, one at Romney, the other on Capon. The savages swarmed over the Blue Ridge and spread destruction in the Valley of Virginia.

General Joseph Folchon was given command of the army destined for the expedition against Fort Duquesne. This was early in 1758. He had native, hundred Highlanders, two thousand seven hundred Pennsylvania Indians, thirteen hundred Virginians, and enough others to bring the total to about six thousand men. Washington was leader of the Virginians. Without him, General Folchon never would have seen the Ohio. The old general was sick, and his progress was so slow that but for the efforts of Washington in pushing forward, the army could not have reached Duquesne that year. A new road was undertaken from Cumberland, advanced about half the distance from Cumberland to Fort Duquesne. Major General Folchon, with eight hundred Highlanders and Virginians, went forward to reconnoiter. Intelligence had been received that the garrison numbered only eight hundred, of whom three hundred were Indians. But he informed General Folchon of four hundred men from Illinois had arrived unknown to Major General Folchon, and he was attacked and defeated with heavy loss within a short distance of the Fort. Nearly three hundred of his men were killed or wounded, and Major General Folchon was taken prisoner.

The November 9, 1758, General Folchon arrived at Uniontown and judged to advance no farther that year, but seven days later it was learned that the garrison of Fort Duquesne was in no condition for resistance. Washington and twenty-five hundred men were sent forward to attack it. General Folchon, with six thousand men, had spent fifty days in opening fifty miles of road, and fifty miles remained to be opened. Washington's men, in five days from the advance from Uniontown, were within seventeen miles of the Ohio. On November 10 the fort was reached. The French gave it up without a fight, set fire to it and fled down the Ohio.

The power of the French in the Ohio Valley was broken. When the despairing garrison applied the match which blew up the magazine of Fort Duquesne, they saved their last stronghold in the Valley of the West. The fat was not over; the Indians remained hostile, but the danger that the colony west of the Alleghenies would fall into the hands of France had passed. Civilization, progress and religious liberty were safe. The gateway to the great West was opened to the English race, and from that day there was no peace until the western border of the United States was wished by the wants of the People. West Virginia's fate hung in the balance until Fort Duquesne fell. The way was then cleared for colonization which speedily followed. Had the territory fallen into the hands of France, the character of the inhabitants would have been different, and the whole future history of that part of the country would have been changed. A fort was at once erected on the site of that destroyed by the French, and in honor of William Pitt was named Fort Pitt. The city of Pittsburgh has grown up around the site. The territory now embraced in West Virginia was not at once freed from Indian attacks, but the danger was greatly lessened after the capture of Fort Duquesne was taken up. The subsequent occurrences of the French and Indian War, and Pontiac's War, as subsequent occurrences of the French and Indian War, remain to be given.

The French and Indian War closed in 1763, but the Pontiac War soon followed. The French had lost Canada and the Ohio Valley and the English had several advantages over the French they had in the country. But the Indians rallied against the English, who had speedily taken possession of the territory acquired from France. There is no exten-

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dence that the French gave assistance to the Indians in this war; but much proof that more than one effort was made by the French to restrain the savages. Nor is the charge that the French supplied the Indians with ammunition well founded. The savages bought their ammunition from traders, and these traders were French, English and American. In November, 1760, Rogers, an English officer, sailed over Lake Erie to occupy French posts farther west. While sailing on the Lake he was waited upon by Pontiac, who may be regarded as the ablest Indian encountered by the English in America. He was a Delaware captive who had been adopted by the Ottawas, and became their chief. He hailed Rogers and informed him that the country belonged neither to the French nor English, but to the Indians, and told him to go back. This Rogers refused to do, and Pontiac set to work forming a confederacy of all the Indians between Canada on the north, Tennessee on the south, the Mississippi on the west and the Alleghenies on the east. His object was to expel the English from the country west of the Allegheny mountains.

The superiority of Pontiac as an organizer was soon, not so much in his success in forming a confederacy as in keeping it secret. He struck in a moment, and the blow fell almost simultaneously from Illinois to the frontier of Virginia. In almost every case the forts were taken by surprise. Detroit, Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier were almost the only survivors of the fearful onset of the savages. Detroit had warning from an Indian girl who betrayed the plans of the savages; and when Pontiac, with hundreds of his warriors, appeared in person and attempted to take the Fort by surprise, he found the English ready for him. He besieged the post nearly a year. The siege began May 9, 1760, and the rapidity with which blows were struck over a wide expanse of country shows how thorough were his arrangements, and how well the secret had been kept. Fort Stanwix, near Lake Erie, was surprised and captured May 16, seven days after Detroit was besieged. Nine days later the Fort at the mouth of St. Joseph's was taken; two days later Fort Miami, on the Maumee river, fell, also taken by surprise. On June 1 Fort Ouiatagan in Indiana, was surprised and captured. Machikinie, far north in Michigan, fell also. This was on June 2. Venango in Pennsylvania, near Lake Erie, was captured, and not one of the garrison escaped to tell the tale. Fort Le Boeuf, in the same part of the country, fell June 18. On June 22 Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania, shared the fate of the rest. On June 21 Fort Ligonier was attacked and the siege was prosecuted with vigor, but the place held out. It was situated on the road between Fort Pitt and Cumberland. On June 22 the savages appeared before the walls of Fort Pitt, but were unable to take the place by surprise, although it was in poor condition for defense. The fortifications had never been finished, and a flood had opened three sides. The commandant raised a rampart of logs round the Fort and prepared to fight till the last. The garrison numbered three hundred and thirty men. More than two hundred women and children from the frontiers had taken refuge there.

Despairing of taking the Fort by force, the savages tried treachery, and asked for a parley. When it was granted, the chief told the commandant of the Fort that resistance was useless; that all the forts in the North and West had been taken, and that a large Indian army was on its march to Fort Pitt which must fall. But, said the chief, if the English would abandon the Fort and retire east of the Alleghenies, they would be permitted to depart in peace, provided they would set out at once. The reply given by

the commandant was, that he intended to stay where he was, and that he had provisions and ammunition sufficient to enable him to hold out against all the savages in the woods for three years, and that English armies were at that moment on their march to extirpate the Indians. This answer apparently discouraged the savages, and they did not push the siege vigorously. But in July the attack was renewed with great fury. The savages made numerous efforts to set the Fort on fire by discharging arrows against it; but they did not succeed. They made holes in the river bank and from that hiding place kept up an incessant fire, but the Fort was too strong for them. On the last day of July, 1763, the Indians raised the siege and disappeared. It was soon learned what had caused them to depart so suddenly. General Bouquet was at that time marching to the relief of Fort Pitt, with five hundred men and a large train of supplies. The Indians had gone to meet him and give battle. As Bouquet marched west from Cumberland he found the settlements broken up, the houses burned, the grain unharvested, and desolation on every hand, showing how relentless the savages had been in their determination to break up the settlements west of the Alleghanies.

On August 2, 1763, General Bouquet arrived at Fort Ligonier, which had been besieged, but the Indians had departed. He left part of his stores there, and hastened forward toward Fort Pitt. On August 5 the Indians who had been besieging Fort Pitt attacked the troops at Bushy Run. A desperate battle ensued. The troops kept the Indians off by using the bayonet, but the loss was heavy. The next day the fight was resumed, the Indians completely surrounding the English. The battle was brought to a close by Bouquet's stratagem. He set an ambuscade and then feigned retreat. The Indians fell into the trap and were routed. Bouquet had lost one-fourth of his men in killed and wounded; and so many of his pack horses had been killed that he was obliged to destroy a large part of his stores because he could not move them. After a march of four days the army reached Fort Pitt.

The effect of this sudden and disastrous war was wide-spread. The settlers fled for protection from the frontiers to the forts and towns. The settlements on the Greenbrier were deserted. The colonists hurried east of the Alleghanies. Indians prowled through all the settled portions of West Virginia, extending their raids to the South Branch of the Potomac. More than five hundred families from the frontiers took refuge at Winchester. Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was enraged when he learned of the destruction wrought by the Indians. He offered a reward of five hundred dollars to any person who would kill Pontiac, and he caused the offer of the reward to be proclaimed at Detroit. "As to socommodation with these savages," said he, "I will have none until they have felt our just revenge." He urged every measure which could assist in the destruction of the savages. He classed the Indians as "the vilest race of beings that ever infested the earth, and whose wickedness from it must be esteemed a meritorious act for the good of mankind." He declared them who could be caught.

Bouquet's force was not large enough to enable him to invade the Indian country in Ohio at that time; but he collected about two thousand men, and the next summer carried the war into the enemy's country, and struck

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directly at the Indian towns, assured that by no other means could the savages be brought to terms. The army had not advanced far west of Pittsburgh when the tribes of Ohio became aware of the invasion and resorted to various devices to retard its advance and thwart its purposes. But General Bouquet proceeded rapidly, and with such caution and in such force, that no attack was made on him by the Indians. The alarm among them was great. They foresaw the destruction of their towns; and when all other resources had failed, they sent a delegation to Bonquet to ask for peace. He signified his willingness to negotiate peace on condition that the Indians surrender all white prisoners in their hands. He did not halt however in his advance to wait for a reply. The Indians saw that the terms must be accepted and be complied with without delay if they would save their towns. The army was now within striking distance. The terms were therefore accepted, and more than two hundred prisoners, a large number of whom were women and children, were given up. Other prisoners remained with the Indians in remote places, but the most of them were sent to Fort Pitt the next spring, according to promise. Thus closed Pontiac's War.

An agency had been at work for some time to bring about peace, but unknown to the English. It was the French, and without their co-operation and assistance it is probable the Indians would not have consented to the peace. DeNeyon, the French officer at Fort Chartres, wrote a letter to Pontiac advising him to make peace with the English, as the war between the French and English was over and there was no use of further bloodshed. This letter reached Pontiac in November while he was conducting the siege of Detroit, and its contents becoming known to his Indian allies, greatly discouraged them; for it seems that up to that time they believed they were helping the French and that the French would soon appear in force and fight as of old. When the Indians discovered that no help from France was to be expected, they became willing to make peace with Bouquet, and for ten years the western frontiers enjoyed immunity from war.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DUNMORE WAR.

The progress of the settlement of West Virginia from 1764 to 1774 has been noticed elsewhere in this volume. There were ten years of peace; but in the year 1774 war with the Indians broke out again. Peace was restored before the close of the year. The trouble of 1774 is usually known as Dunmore's War, so called from Lord Dunmore who was at that time Governor of Virginia, and who took personal charge of a portion of the army operating against the Indians. There has been much controversy as to the origin or cause of hostilities, and the matter has never been settled satisfactorily to all. It has been charged that emissaries of Great Britain incited the Indians to take up arms, and that Dunmore was one of the moving spirits in this disgraceful conspiracy against the colony of Virginia. It is further charged that Dunmore hoped to see the army under General Andrew Lewis defeated and destroyed at Point Pleasant, and that Dunmore's failure to form a junction with the army under Lewis according to agreement, was intentional, premeditated and in the hope that the southern division of the army would be crushed.

This is a charge so serious that no historian has a right to put it forward without strong evidence for its support—much stronger evidence than has yet been brought to light. The charge may be neither wholly true nor wholly false. There is not a little evidence against Dunmore in this campaign, especially when taken in connection with the state of feeling entertained by Great Britain against the American colonies at that time. In order to present this matter somewhat clearly, yet eliminating many minor details, it is necessary to speak of Great Britain's efforts to annoy and intimidate the colonies, as early as 1774, and of the spirit in which these annoyances were received by the Americans.

Many people, both in America and England, saw, in 1774, that a revolution was at hand. The Thirteen Colonies were arriving very near the formation of a confederacy whose avowed purpose was resistance to Great Britain. Massachusetts had raised ninety thousand dollars to buy powder and arms; Connecticut provided for military stores and had proposed to issue seventy thousand dollars in paper money. In fact, preparations for war with England were going steadily forward, although hostilities had not begun. Great Britain was getting ready to meet the rebellious colonies, either by strategy or force, or both. Overtures had been made by the Americans to the Canadians to join them in a common struggle for liberty. Canada belonged to Great Britain, having been taken by conquest from France in the French and Indian War. Great Britain's first move was regarding Canada; not only to prevent that country from joining the Americans, but to use Canada as a menace and a weapon against them. In

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Ined's plan was deeply laid. It was largely the work of Thurlow and Wedderburn. The Canadians were to be granted full religious liberty and a large share of political liberty in order to gain their friendship. They were a mostly Catholic, and with them England, on account of her trouble with her Thirteen Colonies, took the first step in Catholic emancipation. Having won the Canadians to her side, Great Britain intended to set up a separate empire there, and expected to use this Canadian empire as a constant threat against the colonies. It was thought that the colonists would cling to England through fear of Canada.

The plan having been matured, its execution was at once attempted. The first step was the emancipation of the Canadian Catholics. The next step was the passage of the Quebec Act, by which the Province of Quebec was extended southward to take in western Pennsylvania and all the country belonging to England north and west of the Ohio River. The King of England had already forbidden the planting of settlements between the Ohio River and the Alleghany Mountains in West Virginia; so the Quebec Act was intended to shut the English colonies out of the West and confine them east of the Alleghany Mountains. Had this plan been carried into execution as intended, it would have curtailed the colonies, at least Pennsylvania and Virginia, and prevented their growth westward. The country beyond the Ohio would have become Canadian in its laws and people, and Great Britain would have had two empires in America, one Catholic and the other Protestant; or, at least, one composed of the Thirteen Colonies and the other of Canada extended southward and westward, and it was intended that these empires should restrain, check and threaten each other, thus holding both loyal to and dependent upon Great Britain.

Some time before the passage of the Quebec Act a movement was on foot to establish a new province called Vandalia, west of the Alleghanies, including the greater part of West Virginia and a portion of Kentucky. Benjamin Franklin and George Washington were interested in it. The capital was to be at the mouth of the Kanawha. The province was never formed. Great Britain was not inclined to create states west of the mountains at a time when efforts were being made to confine the settlements east of that range. To have had West Virginia and a portion of Kentucky neutral ground, and vacant, between the empire of Canada and the empire of the Thirteen Colonies would have pleased the authors of the Quebec Act. But acts of Parliament and proclamations by the King had little effect on the pioneers who pushed into the wilderness of the West to find new homes.

Before proceeding to a narration of the events of the Dunmore War, it is not out of place to inquire concerning Governor Dunmore, and whether, from his past acts and general character, he would be likely to conspire with the British and the Indians to destroy the western settlements of Virginia. Whether the British were capable of an act so savage and unjust as inciting savages to harass the western frontier of their own colonies is not a matter for controversy. It is a fact that they did do it during the Revolutionary War. Whether they had adopted this policy so early as 1774, and whether Governor Dunmore was a party to the scheme, is not so certain. Therefore let us ask, who was Dunmore? He was a needy, rapacious Scotch Earl, of the House of Murray, who came to America to amass a fortune and who at once set about the accomplishment of his object, with little regard for the rights of others or the laws of the country. He was Governor of New York a short time; and, although poor when he came, he was the

owner of fifty thousand acres of land when he left, and was preparing to decide, in his own court, in his own favor, a large and unfounded claim which he had preferred against the Lieutenant Governor. When he assumed the office of Governor of Virginia his greed for land and money knew no bounds. He recognized no law which did not suit his purpose. He paid no attention to positive instructions from the crown, which forbade him to meddle with lands in the west. These lands were known to be beyond the borders of Virginia, as fixed by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Locaber, and therefore were not in his jurisdiction. He had soon acquired two large tracts in southern Illinois, and also held lands where Louisville, Kentucky, now stands, and in Kentucky opposite Cincinnati. Nor did his greed for wealth and power stop with appropriating wild lands to his own use; but, without any warrant in law, and in violation of all justice, he extended the boundaries of Virginia northward to include much of western Pennsylvania, Pittsburg in particular; and he made that the county seat of Augusta County, and moved the court from Staunton to that place. He even changed the name Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore. He appointed forty-two justices of the peace. Another appointment of his, as lieutenant of militia, was Simon Girty, afterwards notorious and infamous as a deserter and a leader of Indians in their war against the frontiers. He appointed John Connolly, a physician and adventurer, commandant of Fort Pitt and its dependencies, which were supposed to include all the western country. Connolly was a willing tool of Dunmore in many a questionable transaction. Court was held at Fort Pitt until the spring of 1776. The name of Pittsburg first occurs in the court records on August 20, 1776. When Connolly received his appointment he issued a proclamation setting forth his authority. The Pennsylvanians resisted Dunmore's usurpation, and arrested Connolly. The Virginia authorities arrested some of the Pennsylvania officers, and there was confusion, almost anarchy, so long as Dunmore was Governor.

Dunmore had trouble elsewhere. His domineering conduct, and his support of some of Great Britain's oppressive measures, caused him to be hated by the Virginians, and led to armed resistance. Thereupon he threatened to make Virginia a solitude, using these words: "I do enjoin the magistrates and all loyal subjects to repair to my assistance, or I shall consider the whole country in rebellion, and myself at liberty to annoy it by every possible means, and I shall not hesitate at reducing houses to ashes and spreading devastation wherever I can reach. With a small body of troops and arms, I could raise such a force from among Indians, negroes and other persons as would soon reduce the refractory people of the colony to obedience." The patriots of Virginia finally rose in arms and drove Governor Dunmore from the country. Some of these events occurred after the Dunmore War, but they serve to show what kind of a man the Governor was.

Perhaps the strongest argument against the claim that Dunmore was in league with Indians, backed by Great Britain, to push back the frontier of Virginia to the Alleghanies, is the fact that Dunmore at that time was reaching out for lands, for himself, in Illinois, Kentucky and Ohio and his land-grabbing would have been cut off in that quarter if his schemeing Virginia to the Alleghanies been successful. He could not have carried out his schemes of acquiring possessions in the West had the Quebec Act been sustained. Dunmore did more to nullify the Quebec Act than any one else. He exerted every energy to extend and maintain the Virginia frontier

as far west as possible. By this he opposed and circumvented the efforts of Great Britain to shut Virginia off from the West. He and the government at home did not work together, nor agree on the frontier policy; and in the absence of direct proof sustaining the charge that he was in conspiracy with the British government and the Indians to assail the western frontier, the doubt as to his guilt on the charge must remain in his favor.

From the time of the treaty made by General Bouquet with the Indians, 1764, to the year 1773, there was peace on the frontiers. War did not break out in 1773, but murders were committed by Indians which excited the frontier settlements, and were the first in a series which led to war. The Indians did not comply with the terms of the treaty with General Bouquet. They had agreed to give up all prisoners. It was subsequently ascertained that they had not done so. Home captives were still held in bondage. But this in itself did not lead to the war of 1774. The frontiers, since Bouquet's treaty, had been pushed to the Ohio River, in West Virginia, and into Kentucky. Although Indians had no right by occupation to either West Virginia or Kentucky, and although they had given up by treaty any right which they claimed, they yet looked with anger upon the planting of settlements in those countries. The first act of hostility was committed in 1773, not in West Virginia, but farther south. A party of emigrants, under the leadership of a son of Daniel Boone, were on their way to Kentucky when they were set upon and several were killed, including young Boone. There can be no doubt that this attack was made to prevent or hinder the colonization of Kentucky. Soon after this, a white man killed an Indian at a horse race. This is said to have been the first Indian blood shed on the frontier of Virginia by a white man after Pontiac's War. In February 1774 the Indians killed six white men and two negroes; and in the same month, on the Ohio, they seized a trading canoe, killed the men in charge and carried the goods to the Shawnee towns. Then the white men began to kill also. In March, on the Ohio, a fight occurred between settlers and Indians, in which one was killed on each side, and five canoes were taken from the Indians. John Connelly wrote from Pittsburgh on April 21, to the people of Wheeling to be on their guard, as the Indians were preparing for war. On April 26, two Indians were killed on the Ohio. On April 30, nine Indians were killed on the same river near Steubenville. On May 1, another Indian was killed. About the same time an old Indian named Bald Eagle was killed on the Monongahela River; and an Indian camp on the Little Kanawha, in the present county of Braxton, was broken up, and the natives were killed. This was believed to have been done by settlers on the West Fork, in the present County of Lewis. They were induced to take that course by intelligence from the Kanawha River that a family named Stroud, residing near the mouth of the Gauley River had been murdered, and the tracks of the Indians led toward the Indian camp on the Little Kanawha. When this camp was visited by the party of white men from the West Fork, they discovered clothing and other articles belonging to the Stroud family. Thereupon the Indians were destroyed. A party of white men with Governor Dunmore's permission destroyed an Indian village on the Muskingum River. The frontiers were alarmed. Forts were built in which the inhabitants could find shelter from attacks. Expresses were sent to Williamsburg entreating assistance. The Virginia Assembly in May discussed the dangers from Indians on the frontier, and intimated that the militia should be called out. Governor Dunmore ordered out the militia of

the frontier counties. He then proceeded in person to Pittsburgh, partly to look after his lands, and partly to take charge of the campaign against the Indians. The Delawares and Six Nations renewed their treaty of peace in September, but the Shawnees, the most powerful and warlike tribe in Ohio, did not. This tribe had been sullen and unfriendly at Bouquet's treaty, and had remained sour ever since. Nearly all the captives yet in the hands of the Indians were held by this fierce tribe, which defied the white man and despised treaties. These savages were ruled by Cornstalk, an able and no doubt a good man, opposed to war, but when carried into it by the headstrong rashness of his tribe, none fought more bravely than he. The Shawnees were the chief fighters on the Indian side in the Dunmore war, and they were the chief sufferers.

After arranging his business at Pittsburgh, Governor Dunmore descended the Ohio River with twelve hundred men. Daniel Morgan, with a company from the Valley of Virginia, was with him. A second army was being organized in the southwestern part of Virginia, and Dunmore's instructions were that this army, after marching down the Great Kanawha, should join him on the Ohio where he promised to wait. The Governor failed to keep his promise, but crossed into Ohio and marched against the Shawnee towns which he found deserted. He built a fort and sat down to wait.

In the meantime the army was collecting which was to descend the Kanawha. General Andrew Lewis was commander. The pioneers on the Greenbrier and New River formed a not inconsiderable part of the army which rendezvoused on the site of Lewisburg in Greenbrier County. In this army were fifty men from the Watauga, among whom were Evan Shelby, James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, names famous in history. Perhaps an army composed of better fighting material than that assembled for the march to Ohio, never took the field anywhere. The distance from Lewisburg to the mouth of the Great Kanawha was about one hundred and sixty miles. At that time there was not so much as a trail, if an old Indian path, hard to find, is excepted. At the mouth of Elk River the army made canoes and embarking in them, proceeded to Point Pleasant, the mouth of the Kanawha, which they reached October 6, 1774. Prior to that date Simon Girty arrived at Point Pleasant with dispatches from Dunmore, who was then at the mouth of the Little Kanawha with his army. The dispatches ordered Lewis to proceed to the mouth of the Hockhocking. When Girty reached Point Pleasant, Lewis had not arrived, and the dispatches were deposited in a hollow tree in a conspicuous place where they would be seen. Girty returned to Dunmore's army, which marched to the Hockhocking. Another messenger was sent to Point Pleasant. Scouts passed between the two armies, and on October 18 Dunmore ordered Lewis to proceed to the Pickaway towns in Ohio. But, in the mean time the battle of Point Pleasant had been fought. On October 10 the Indian army under Cornstalk arrived, about one thousand in number. The Virginians were encamped on the narrow point of land formed by the meeting of the Kanawha and Ohio. The Indians crossed the Ohio the evening before, or during the night, and went into camp on the West Virginia side, and about two miles from the Virginians. They were discovered at daybreak, October 10, by two young men who were hunting. The Indians fired and killed one of them; the other escaped and carried the news to the army.

This was the first intelligence the Virginians had that the Indians had come down from their towns in Ohio to give battle. By what means the

savages had received information of the advance of the army in time to collect their forces and meet it before the Ohio River was crossed, has never been ascertained, but it is probable that Indian scouts had watched the progress of General Lewis from the time he took up his march from Greenbrier. Cornstalk laid well his plans for the destruction of the Virginian army at Point Pleasant. He formed his line across the neck of land, from the Ohio to the Kanawha, and enclosed the Virginians between his line and the two rivers. He posted detachments on the farther banks of the Ohio and the Kanawha to cut off General Lewis should he attempt to retreat across either river. Cornstalk meant not only to defeat the army but to destroy it. The Virginians numbered eleven hundred.

When the news of the advance of the Indian army reached General Lewis, he prepared for battle, and sent three hundred men to the front to meet the enemy. The fight began at sunrise. Both armies were soon engaged over a line a mile long. Both fought from behind trees, logs and whatever would offer protection. The lines were always near each other; sometimes twenty yards, sometimes less; occasionally near enough to use the tomahawk. The battle was remarkable for its obstinacy. It raged six hours, almost hand to hand. Then the Indians fell back a short distance and took up a strong position, and all efforts to dislodge them by attacks in front failed. Cornstalk was along his whole line, and above the din of battle his powerful voice could be heard: "Be strong! Be strong!" The loss was heavy among the Virginians, and perhaps nearly as heavy among the Indians. Late in the afternoon General Lewis discovered a way to attack the Indians in flank. A small stream with high banks empties into the Kanawha at that point, and he sent a detachment up this stream, the movement being concealed from the Indians, and when an advantageous point was reached, the soldiers emerged and attacked the Indians. Taken by surprise, the savages retreated. This movement decided the day in favor of the Virginians. The Indians fled a short distance up the Ohio and crossed to the western side, the most of them on logs and rude rafts, probably the same on which they had crossed the stream before the battle. The Virginians lost sixty men killed and ninety-six wounded. The loss of the Indians was not ascertained. They left thirty-three dead on the field, and were seen to throw others into the Ohio River. All their wounded were carried off.

The battle of Point Pleasant was the most stubbornly contested of all frontier battles with the Indians; but it was by no means the bloodiest. Several others could be named in which the loss of life was much greater; notably Braddock's defeat, and the defeat of General St. Clair. The battle of Point Pleasant was also remarkable from the number of men who took part in it who afterwards became noted. Among them may be mentioned Isaac Shelby, the first Governor of Kentucky; William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, and who died on the battlefield of Eutaw Springs; Colonel John Steel, afterward Governor of Mississippi; George Mathews, afterward Governor of Georgia; Colonel William Fleming, Governor of Virginia, and many others. Nearly all the men who were in that battle and afterward returned to their homes, were subsequently soldiers of the American army in the war for independence.

The Indians possessed soldierly qualities which have generally been underestimated. On the battlefield they were brave and confident. In their pitched battles with American soldiers on the frontiers they were

nearly always out-numbered, and yet they were defeated with difficulty. With a smaller force they defeated Braddock; a smaller force fought Bouquet and almost defeated him. St. Clair's disastrous rout was caused by an inferior force of Indians. After many defeats from Indians in the Northwest, they were whipped only when General Wayne attacked them with three men to their one. The loss of the Indians was nearly always smaller than that of the force opposing them; sometimes, as in the case of Braddock's and of St. Clair's defeats, not more than one-tenth as great. The Indians selected their ground for a fight with cunning judgment, unsurpassed by any people. They never fought after they began to loose heavily, but immediately retreated. This was the only policy possible for them. They had few men, and if they lost heavily, the loss was irreparable.

The day following the battle, Colonel Christian arrived with three hundred soldiers from Fincastle. Fort Randolph was built at Point Pleasant; and after leaving a garrison there, General Lewis crossed the Ohio October 17, and marched nearly a hundred miles to the Scioto River to join Governor Dunmore. Before he arrived at Fort Charlotte, where Dunmore was, he received a message from the Governor, ordering him to stop, and giving as a reason that he was about to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. General Lewis and his men refused at first to obey this order. They had no love for Dunmore, and they did not regard him as a friend of Virginia. Not until a second express arrived did General Lewis obey.

After the fight at Point Pleasant, Cornstalk, Logan and Red Eagle, the three principal chiefs who had taken part in the battle, retreated to their towns with their tribesmen. Seeing that pursuit was swift and vigorous, Cornstalk called a council and asked what should be done. No one had any advice to offer. He then proposed to kill the old men, women and children; and the warriors then should go out to meet the invaders and fight till every Indian had met his death on the field of battle. No reply was made to this proposition. Thereupon Cornstalk said that since his men would not fight, he would go and make peace; and he did so. Thus ended the war. Governor Dunmore had led an army of Virginians into Ohio, and assumed and exercised authority there, thus setting aside and nullifying the Act of Parliament which extended the jurisdiction of Quebec to the Ohio River.

The treaty was made at Camp Charlotte. The Indian Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, as is generally stated, but there seems to be no evidence that he was a chief at all, refused to attend the conference with Dunmore, but sent a speech which has become famous because of the controversy which it has occasioned. The speech, which nearly every school boy knows by heart, is as follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat, if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, who last spring in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called upon me for vengeance. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor the thought that mine

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is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

The charge has been made that this speech was a forgery, written by Thomas Jefferson. Others have charged that it was changed and interpolated after it was delivered. The part referring to Cresap, in particular, has been pointed out as an interpolation, because it is now known, and was then known, that Cresap (Captain Michael Cresap was meant) did not murder Logan's relatives. The facts in regard to the speech are these: Logan did not make the speech in person, and he did not write it, and he did not dictate it to any person who wrote it; but the speech, substantially as we now have it, was read at the conference at Camp Charlotte. Logan would not attend the conference. Simon Girty, who was employed as interpreter, but who could neither read nor write, was sent by Lord Dunmore from Camp Charlotte to hunt for Logan, and found him in his camp, which seems to have been a few miles distant. Logan would not go to the conference, and Girty returned without him. As he approached the circle where the conference was in progress, Captain John Gibson walked out to meet him. He and Girty conversed a few minutes, and Gibson entered his tent alone, and in a few minutes came out with a piece of clean paper on which, in his own hand, was written the now famous Logan speech. It is probable that in the conversation between Logan and Girty, the former had made use of sentiments similar to those in the speech, and Girty repeated them as nearly as he remembered them, to Gibson, and Gibson, who was a good scholar, put the speech in classic English. At the most, the sentiment only, not the words, were Logan's.

CHAPTER V.

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WEST VIRGINIA IN THE REVOLUTION.

The territory of the present State of West Virginia was not invaded by a British army, except one company of forty, during the war for American independence. Its remote position made it safe from attack from the east; but this very remoteness rendered it doubly liable to invasion from the west where Great Britain had made allies of the Indians, and had armed and supplied them, and had sent them against the frontiers from Canada to Georgia, with full license to kill man, woman and child. No part of America suffered more from the savages than West Virginia. Great Britain's purpose in employing Indians on the frontiers was to harass the remote country, and not only keep at home all the inhabitants for defense of their settlements, but also to make it necessary that soldiers be sent to the West who otherwise might be employed in opposing the British near the sea coast. Notwithstanding West Virginia's exposed frontier on the west, it sent many soldiers to the Continental Army. West Virginians were on almost every battlefield of the Revolution. The portion of the State east of the Alleghanies, now forming Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Hardy, Grant, Mineral and Pendleton counties, was not invaded by Indians during the Revolution, and from this region large numbers of soldiers joined the armies under Washington, Gates, Greene and other patriots.

As early as November 5, 1774, an important meeting was held by West Virginians in which they clearly indicated under which banner they would be found fighting, if Great Britain persisted in her course of oppression. This was the first meeting of the kind west of the Alleghanies, and few similar meetings had then been held anywhere. It occurred during the return of Dunmore's Army from Ohio, twenty-five days after the battle of Point Pleasant. The soldiers had heard of the danger of war with England; and, although they were under the command of Dunmore, a royal Governor, they were not afraid to let the country know that neither a royal Governor nor any one else could swerve them from their duty as patriots and lovers of liberty. The meeting was held at Fort Gower, north of the Ohio River. The soldiers passed resolutions which had the right ring. They recited that they were willing and able to bear all hardships of the woods; to get along for weeks without bread or salt, if necessary; to sleep in the open air; to dress in skins if nothing else could be had; to march further in a day than any other men in the world; to use the rifle with skill and with bravery. They affirmed their seal in the cause of right, and promised continued allegiance to the King of England, provided he would reign over them as a brave and free people. "But," they continued, "as attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American

osity, when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." It was such spirit as this, manifested on every occasion during the Revolution, which prompted Washington in the darkest year of the war to exclaim that if driven from every point east of the Blue Ridge, he would retire west of the mountains and there raise the standard of liberty and bid defiance to the armies of Great Britain.

At two meetings held May 16, 1775, one at Fort Pitt, the other at Hannastown, several West Virginians were present and took part in the proceedings. Resolutions were passed by which the people west of the mountains pledged their support to the Continental Congress, and expressed their purpose of resisting the tyranny of the mother country. In 1775 a number of men from the Valley of the Monongahela joined Washington's army before Boston. The number of soldiers who went forward from the eastern part of the State was large.

There were a few persons in West Virginia who adhered to the cause of England; and who from time to time gave trouble to the patriots; but the promptness with which their attempted risings were crushed is proof that traitors were in a hopeless minority. The patriots considered them as enemies and dealt harshly with them. There were two attempted uprisings in West Virginia, one in the Monongahela Valley, which the inhabitants of that region were able to suppress; the other uprising was on the South Branch of the Potowmack, in what is now Hardy and Grant Counties, and troops were sent from the Shenandoah Valley to put it down. In the Monongahela Valley several of the tories were arrested and sent to Richmond. It is recorded that the leader was drowned in Cheat River while crossing under guard on his way to Richmond. Two men of the Morgan family were his guard. The boat upset while crossing the river. It was the general impression of the citizens of the community that the upsetting was not accidental. The guards did not like to take the long journey to Richmond while their homes and the homes of their neighbors were exposed to attacks from Indians. The tory uprising on the South Branch was much more serious. The first indication of trouble was given by their refusal to pay their taxes, or to furnish their quota of men for the militia. Complaint was made by the Sheriff of Hampshire county, and Colonel Vanneter with thirty men was sent to enforce the collection of taxes. The tories armed themselves, to the number of fifty, for resistance, and placed themselves under the leadership of John Brake, a German, whose house was above Petersburg, in what is now Grant County. These enemies of their country had made their rendezvous. They met the militia from Hampshire, but no fight took place. Apparently each side was afraid to begin. There was a parley in which Colonel Vanneter pointed out to the tories the consequence which must follow, if they persisted in their present course. He advised them to disperse, go to their homes and conduct themselves as law abiding citizens. He left them and marched home.

The disloyal elements grew in strength and insobriety. They imagined that the authorities were afraid and would not again interfere with them. They organized a company, elected John Claypole their captain, and prepared to march off and join the British forces. General Morgan was at that time at his home in Frederick County, and he collected militia to the number of four hundred, crossed the mountain and fell on the tories in such dead earnest that they lost all their enthusiasm for the cause of Great Britain. Claypole was taken prisoner, and William Balter, who refused to

surrender, was shot, but not killed. Later a man named Mace was killed. Brake was overruled; and after two days spent in the neighborhood, the militia, under General Morgan, returned home. The tories were crushed. A number of them were so ashamed of what they had done that they joined the American army and fought as patriots till the close of the war, thus endeavoring to redeem their lost reputations.

The contrast between the conduct of the tories on the South Branch and the patriotic devotion of the people on the Greenbrier is marked. Money was so scarce that the Greenbrier settlers could not pay their taxes, although willing to do so. They fell delinquent four years in succession and to the amount of thirty thousand dollars. They were willing to perform labor if arrangements could be made to do it. Virginia agreed to the proposition, and the people of Greenbrier built a road from Lewisburg to the Kanawha River in payment of their taxes.

The chief incidents in West Virginia's history during the Revolutionary War were connected with the Indian troubles. The State was invaded four times by forces large enough to be called armies; and the incursions by smaller parties were so numerous that the mere mention of them would form a list of murders, ambuscades and personal encounters of tedious and monotonous length. The first invasion occurred in 1777 when Fort Henry, now Wheeling, was attacked; the second, 1778, when Fort Randolph, now Point Pleasant, was besieged for one week, the Indians moving as far east as Greenbrier County, where Donnelly's fort was attacked; the third invasion was in August, 1781, when Fort Henry was again attacked by 250 Indians under the leadership of Matthew Elliott. The fourth invasion occurred in September, 1782, when Wheeling was again attacked. The multitude of incursions by Indians must be passed over briefly. The custom of the savages was to make their way into a settlement and either lie in wait along paths and shoot those who attempted to pass or break into houses and murder the inmates or take them prisoner, and then make off hastily for the Ohio River. Once across that stream, pursuit was not probable.

The custom of the Indians in taking prisoners, and their great exertion to accomplish that purpose, is a difficult thing to explain. Prisoners were of little or no use to them. They did not make slaves of them. If they sometimes received money as ransom for captives the hope of ransom money seems seldom or never to have prompted them to carry prisoners to their towns. They sometimes showed a liking, if not affection, for captives adopted into their tribes and families; but this kindly feeling was shallow and treacherous, and Indians would not hesitate to burn at the stake a captive who had been treated as one of their family for months if they should take it into their heads that revenge for injuries received from others called for a sacrifice. The Indians followed no rule or precedent as to which of their captives they would kill and which carry to their towns. They sometimes killed children and spared adults, and sometimes the reverse.

When the Revolutionary War began the English and the Americans strove to obtain the good will of the western Indians. The Americans sent Simon Girty and James Wood on a peaceful mission to the Ohio tribes in July, 1775. On February 22 of that year Simon Girty had taken the oath of allegiance to the King of England, but when war commenced he took sides with the Americans. In July, 1775, Congress created three Indian departments, that embracing the portions of West Virginia and Pennsylvania west

of the Alleghanies, to be known as the Middle Department. Commissioners were appointed to establish and maintain friendly relations with the Indians. In October of that year delegates from several of the Ohio tribes visited Pittsburg, which, since September before, had been occupied by Captain John Neville and a garrison of one hundred Americans. The Indian delegates made a treaty and agreed to remain neutral during the trouble between the colonies and Great Britain.

The British were less humane. Instead of urging the savages to remain neutral, as the Americans had done, they excited the tribes to take up the hatchet against the Americans. The subsequent horrors of the Indian warfare along the frontier are chargeable to the British, who resorted to "every means which God and nature had placed in their power" to annoy the Americans. The most industrious of British agents in stirring up the Indians was Henry Hamilton, who in April, 1775, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Indian agent, with headquarters at Detroit. His salary was one thousand dollars a year. He reached his destination November 9, 1775. The Indians flocked to him and importuned him for permission and assistance to attack the settlements. But Hamilton had not yet received instructions from his government, authorizing him to employ Indians, and he did not send them to war at that time. In June, 1776, George Morgan, Indian agent for the Middle Department, held a conference with some of the Ohio tribes and succeeded in keeping them away from Detroit at that time. The suggestion that Indians be employed against the Americans came from Governor Hamilton late in 1776. The proposition was eagerly accepted; and on March 28, 1777, Lord George Germain gave the fatal order that Hamilton assemble all the Indians possible and send them against the frontiers, under the leadership of proper persons who could restrain them. This order was received by Governor Hamilton in June 1777, and before August 1 he had sent out fifteen marauding parties aggregating 280 Indians.

The year 1777 is called in border history the "bloody year of the three sevens." The British sent against the frontier's every Indian who could be prevailed upon to go. Few settlements from New York to Florida escaped. In this State the most harm was done on the Monongahela and along the Ohio in the vicinity of Wisseling. Monongalia County was visited twice by the savages that year, and a number of persons were killed. A party of twenty invaded what is now Randolph county, killed a number of settlers, took several prisoners and made their escape. It was on November 19 of this year that Cornstalk, the Shawnee chief, was assassinated at Point Pleasant by militiamen who assembled there from Greenbrier and elsewhere for the purpose of marching against the Indian towns. Earlier in the year Cornstalk had come to Fort Randolph, at Point Pleasant, on a visit, and also to inform the commandant of the fort that the British were inciting the Indians to war, and that his own tribe, the Minwoses, would likely be swept along with the current, in spite of his efforts to keep them at home. Under these circumstances the commandant of the fort thought it best to detain Cornstalk as a hostage to insure the neutrality of his tribe. It does not seem that the venerable Chief was unwilling to remain. He wanted peace. Some time after that his son came to see him, and crossed the Ohio, after making his presence known by hallooing from the other side. The next day two of the militiamen crossed the Ohio to hunt and one was killed by an Indian. The other gave the alarm, and the militiamen crossed the river and brought in the body of the dead man. The

soldiers believed that the Indian who had committed the deed had come the day before with Cornstalk's men, and had lain concealed until an opportunity occurred to kill a man. The soldiers were enraged, and started up the river bank toward the cabin where Cornstalk resided, announcing that they would kill the Indians. There were with Cornstalk his son and another Indian, Red Eagle. A sister of Cornstalk, known as the Grandmother Squaw, had lived at the fort some time as interpreter. She hastened to the cabin and urged her brother to make his escape. He might have done so, but refused, and submitted his son to die like a man. The soldiers arrived at that time and fired. All three Indians were killed. The founders of the town who did it were afterwards given the semblance of a trial in Virginia, and were acquitted.

It is the opinion of those acquainted with border history that the murder of Cornstalk brought more suffering upon the West Virginia frontier than any other event of that time. Had he lived, he would perhaps have been able to hold the Shawnees in check. Without the co-operation of that bloodthirsty tribe the border war of the succeeding years would have been different. Five years later Colonel Crawford, who had been taken prisoner, was put to death with extreme torture in revenge for the murder of Cornstalk, as name of the Indians claimed.

Fort Henry was besieged September 1, 1777, by two hundred Indians. General Hand, of Fort Pitt, had been informed that the Indians were preparing for an attack in large numbers upon some point of the frontier, and the settlements between Pittsburgh and Point Pleasant were placed on their guard. Scouts were sent out to discover the advance of the Indians in time to give the alarm. But the scouts discovered no Indians. It is now known that the savages had advanced in small parties, avoiding trails, and had sailed near Wheeling, crossed the Ohio a short distance below that place, and on the night of the last day of August approached Fort Henry, and waiting ambassadors near it, waited for daylight. Fort Henry was made of logs set on end in the ground, in the manner of pickets, and about seventeen feet high. There were portholes through which to fire. The garrison consisted of less than forty men, the majority of whom lived in Wheeling and the immediate vicinity. Early in the morning of September 1 the Indians destroyed Captain Samuel Mason with fourteen men into the field seven distance from the fort, and killed all but three. Captain Mason alone reached the fort, and two of his men succeeded in bidding, and finally escaped. When the Indians attacked Mason's men, the firing was heard at the fort, together with the yells of the savages. Captain Joseph Ogle with twelve men sallied out to assist Mason. He was surrounded and nine of his men were killed. There were only about a dozen men remaining in the fort to resist the attack of four hundred Indians, flushed with victory. There were perhaps one hundred women and children in the stockade.

In a short time the Indians advanced against the fort, with drum and rifle, and the British flag waving over them. It is not known who was leader. He was a white man, or at least there was a white man among them who seemed to be leader. Many old frontier histories, as well as the testimony of those who were present, united in the assertion that the Indians at this siege were led by Simon Girty. It is strange that this mistake could have been made, for it was a mistake. Simon Girty was not there. He was at that time, and for nearly five months afterwards, near Fort Pitt. The commander of the Indian army posted himself in the window of a house

within hailing of the fort, and read the proclamation of Governor Hamil-ton, of Detroit, offering Great Britain's protection in case of surrender, but received no answer in case of resistance. Colonel Blighford, commandant of the fort, replied that the garrison would not surrender. The leader was insisting upon the impossibility of holding out, when his words were cut short by a shot fired at him from the fort. He was not struck. The Indians began the assault with a rush for the fort gate. They tried to break it open; and falling in this, they endeavored to push the posts of the stockade down. They could make no impression on the wall. The fire of the garrison was deadly, and the savages receded. They charged again and again, some times trying to break down the walls with battering rams, attempting to set them on fire; and then sending their best marksmen to pick off the garrison by shooting through the port holes. In course of time the deadly aim of those in the fort taught the savages a wholesome caution. Women fought as well as men. The siege continued two nights and two days, but all attempts of the Indians to burn the fort or break into it were unavailing. They killed many of the cattle about the settlement, partly for food partly from wantonness. They burned nearly all the houses and barns in Wheeling. The savages were preparing for another assault when Colonel Andrew Swearingen, with fourteen men, landed near the fort and gained an entrance. Shortly afterwards Major Samuel McCulloch, at the head of forty men, arrived, and after a severe fight, all reached the fort except McCulloch, who was cut off, but made his escape. The Indians now despaired of success, and raised the siege. No person in the fort was killed. The loss of the Indians was estimated at forty or fifty.

In September of this year, 1777, Captain William Foreman, of Hampshire County, with about twenty men of that county, who had gone to Wheeling to assist in fighting the savages, was ambushed and killed at Grave Creek, below Wheeling, by Indians supposed to have been a portion of those who had besieged Fort Henry.

On March 28, 1778, Simon Girty ran away from Pittsburg in company with Alexander McKee, Robert Sparritt, Matthew Elliott, Higgins and two negroes belonging to McKee. It is misleading to call Girty a deserter, as he was not in the military service. He had formerly been an interpreter in pay, but he was discharged for unbecoming behavior. He had two brothers, James and George, who also joined the British and did service among the Indians, and one brother who remained true to the Americans. Simon Girty reached Detroit in June, 1778, after a laborious journey through the Indian country, during which he buried himself stirring up mischief. He was employed by the British as interpreter at two dollars a day, and was sent by Hamilton to work among the Ohio Indians. His influence for evil was great, and his character shows few redeeming traits.

The year 1778 was one of intense excitement on the frontier. An Indian force of about two hundred attacked Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha, in May, and besieged the place one week. The savages made several attempts to carry it by storm. But they were unsuccessful. They then moved off up the Kanawha, in the direction of Greenbrier. Two soldiers from Fort Randolph eluded the savages, overtook them within twenty miles of the Greenbrier settlement, passed them that night, and alarmed the people just in time for them to flee to the hills above. One family is ever since within the walls of the present town of Frankfort in Greenbrier County. Twenty years will then have passed since those Indians

At Lewisburg, ten miles distant, perhaps one hundred men had assembled, with their families. The Indians apparently knew which was the weaker fort, and accordingly proceeded against Donnally's, upon which they made an attack at daybreak. One of the men had gone out for kindling wood and had left the gate open. The Indians killed this man and made a rush for the fort and crowded into the yard. While some crawled under the floor, hoping to gain an entrance by that means, others climbed to the roof. Still others began bashing the door, which had been hurriedly closed. All the men in the fort were asleep except one white man and a negro slave. As the savages were forcing open the door, the foremost was killed with a tomahawk by the white man, and the negro discharged a musket loaded with heavy shot into the faces of the Indians. The men in the fort were awakened and fired through the port holes. Seventeen savages were killed in the yard. The others fell back, and contented themselves with firing at longer range. In the afternoon sixty-six men arrived from Lewisburg, and the Indians were forced to raise the siege. Their expedition to Greenbrier had been a more signal failure than the attempt on Fort Randolph.

The country along the Monongahela was invaded three times in the year 1778, and once the following year. Few settlements within one hundred miles of the Ohio River escaped. In 1780 Greenbrier was again paid a visit by the savages; and in this year their raids extended eastward into Randolph County, and to Cheat River, in Tucker County, to the very base of the Alleghany Mountains. The Monongahela Valley, as usual, did not escape, and ten settlers were killed.

In this year General George Roger Clark, with a small but excellent army, invaded Illinois to break up the British influence there. He left Captain Helm in charge of Vincennes, Indiana. No sooner had Governor Hamilton heard of the success of Clark than he set out from Detroit to re-establish the British prestige. He took with him thirty-five British regulars, forty-four irregulars, seventy militia and sixty Indians. He picked other Indians up on the way, and reached Vincennes December 17. Captain Helm surrendered. Hamilton then dismissed the Indians, ordering them to re-assemble the next spring with large reinforcements. His designs were ambitious, embracing conquests no less extensive than the driving of the Americans out of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, and the capture of Pittsburgh. But General Clark destroyed all of these high hopes. Marching in the dead of winter he captured Vincennes, February 25, 1779, after a severe fight, and released nearly one hundred white prisoners, chastised the Indians, captured stores worth fifty thousand dollars, cleared the whole country of British from the Mississippi to Detroit; and, most important of all, captured Governor Hamilton himself, and sent him in chains to Richmond. This victory secured to the United States the country as far as the Mississippi; and it greatly dampened the ardor of the Indians. They saw for the first time that the British were not able to protect them.

Fort McIntosh was built in 1778 on the north bank of the Ohio, below the mouth of Beaver, and the headquarters of the army were moved from Pittsburgh to that place, October 8, 1778. In the same year Fort Laurens was built on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy Creek, and Colonel John Gibson was placed in command with 150 men. On March 22, 1779, Captain Bird, a British officer from Detroit, and Simon Girty, with 120 Indians and seven or eight British soldiers, besieged the

fort and remained before it nearly a month, but failed to take it, although they killed a number of soldiers.

In April, 1781, General Brodhead, with 150 regulars and 150 militia, crossed the Ohio at Wheeling and led an expedition against the Delawares at Cuscocton. He killed or captured thirty Indians and destroyed a few towns. He suffered little loss. In 1782 occurred the massacre of the Moravian Indians in Ohio. They lived under the care of missionaries, and claimed to be at peace with all men. But articles of clothing were discovered among them which were recognized as belonging to white settlers who had been murdered in West Virginia. This confirmed the suspicion that the Moravian Indians, if they did not take part in raids against the settlements, had a good understanding with Indians who were engaged in raiding. They were therefore put to death. The act was barbarous and inexcusable.

The third and last siege of Wheeling occurred in September 1782. The British planned an attack on Wheeling in July of that year, just after Crawford's defeat which had greatly encouraged the Indians. They had scarcely ended the torture of prisoners who had fallen into their hands, including Colonel Crawford, when they clamored to be led against the settlements. The British were only too willing to assist them; and in July a number of British soldiers and 300 Indians, under command of a white man named Caldwell, moved toward Wheeling. Simon and George Girty were in this force. Before the army had fairly set out, news came that General Clark was invading the Indian country. The army on the march to Wheeling halted. At the same time a rumor was spread that General Irvine was marching toward Canada from Pittsburg. Re-inforcements for Canada were asked for, and 1400 Indians assembled. Subsequently it was learned that the reports of invasions were unfounded, and the Indian army dispersed. Caldwell with George and Simon Girty and 300 Indians invaded Kentucky and attacked Bryant's station August 14, 1782. The British and Indians did not give up the proposed expedition against Wheeling, and Capt. Pratt with 40 British regulars and 288 Indians marched against the place and attacked it September 11. James Girty was with this expedition but had no command. Simon Girty was never present at any attack on Wheeling.

There were fewer than twenty men in Fort Henry at Wheeling when the Indians appeared. The commandant, Captain Boggs, had gone to warn the neighboring settlements of danger. The whole attacking force marched under the British flag. Just before the attack commenced, a boat, in charge of a man named Sullivan, arrived from Pittsburg, loaded with cannon balls for the garrison at Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Sullivan and his party seeing the danger, tied the boat and made their way to the fort and assisted in the defense. The besiegers demanded an immediate surrender, which was not complied with. The attack was delayed till night. The experience gained by the Indians in the war had taught them that little is gained by a wild rush against the walls of a stockade. No doubt Captain Pratt advised them also what course to pursue. When night came they made their assault. More than twenty times did they pile hemp against the walls of the fort and attempt to set the structure on fire. But the hemp was damp and burned slowly. No harm was done. Colonel Zane's cabin stood near the stockade. His house had been burned at the siege in 1777; and when the Indians again appeared he resolved to defend his building. He remained in the cabin with two or three others, among them a negro slave. That night an Indian crawled up with a chunk of fire to burn

the house, but a shot from the negro's gun crippled him and he gave up his incendiary project. Attempts were made to break down the gates, but they did not succeed. A small cannon mounted on one of the bastions was occasionally discharged among the savages, much to their discomfiture. On one occasion when a number of Indians had gathered in a loft of one of the nearest cabins and were dancing and yelling in defiance of the garrison, the cannon was turned on them, and a solid shot cutting one of the joists, precipitated the savages to the floor beneath and put a stop to their revelry.

The Indians captured the boat with the cannon balls, and decided to use them. They procured a hollow log, plugged one end, and wrapped it with chains stolen from a neighboring blacksmith shop. They loaded the piece with powder and ball, and fired it at the fort. Pieces of the wooden cannon flew in all directions, killing and maiming several Indians, but did not harm the fort. The savages were discouraged, and when a force of seventy men, under Captain Boggs, approached, the Indians fled. They did not, however, leave the country at once, but made an attack on Rice's fort, where they lost four warriors and accomplished nothing.

The siege of Fort Henry is remarkable from the fact that the flag under which the army marched to the attack, and which was shot down during the fight, was the last British flag to float over an army in battle, during the Revolution, within the limits of the United States. West Virginia was never again invaded by a large Indian force, but small parties continued to make incursions till 1795. The war with England closed by a treaty of peace in 1783. In July of that year DePeyster, Governor at Detroit, called the Indians together, told them that the war between America and Great Britain was at an end, and dismissed them. After that date the Indians fought on their own account, although the British still held posts in the Northwest, under the excuse that the Americans had not complied with the terms of the treaty of peace. It was believed, and not without evidence, that the savages were still encouraged by the British, if not directly supplied with arms, to wage war against the frontiers. In the autumn of 1783 there was a large gathering of Indians at Sandusky, where they were harangued by Sir John Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian affairs. Simon Girty was present and was using his influence for evil. Johnson urged the Indians to further resistance.

In February, 1783, while the English Parliament was discussing the American treaty, about to be ratified, Lord North, who opposed peace on the proposed terms, insisted that the Americans should be shut away from the Great Lakes; the forts in that vicinity should be held, and Canada should be extended to the Ohio River. He declared that the Indian allies of Great Britain ought to be cared for, and that their independence ought to be guaranteed by Great Britain. In the autumn of that year, 1783, when the order was given for the evacuation of New York by the British, Lord North, on the petition of merchants and fur traders of Canada, withheld the order for the evacuation of the posts about the lakes. On August 8 of that year Baron Steuben, who had been sent for that purpose by the Americans, demanded of Governor Haldimand of Canada, that British forces be withdrawn from the posts in the Northwest. Governor Haldimand replied that he had received no instructions on that subject, and he would not surrender the posts. The British, in 1785, claimed that they continued to hold the posts in Ohio, Indiana and beyond because some of the states, and especially Virginia,

had not yet opened their courts to British creditors for the collection of debts against Americans incurred before the war. Thus the British continued to occupy posts clearly within the United States, much to the irritation of the American people. The Indians were restless, and the belief was general, and was well founded, that the British were encouraging them to hostility. They became treacherous, and invaded the settlements in West Virginia and Kentucky, and in 1790 the United States declared war upon them, and took vigorous measures to bring them to terms. General Harmar invaded the country north of the Ohio at the head of a strong force in 1790. He suffered his army to be divided and defeated. The next year General St. Clair led an army into the Indian country, and met with one of the most disastrous defeats in the annals of Indian warfare. He lost nearly eight hundred men in one battle. General Wayne now took charge of the campaign in the Indian country. When he began to invade the northern part Ohio, the British about Lake Erie moved south and built a fort on the Maumee River, opposite Piqueterville, Ohio. This was in the summer of 1794. The object in building the fort was clearly to encourage the Indians and to insult the Americans. On August 20, 1794, General Wayne found the Indians within two miles of the British fort, prepared for battle. He made an attack on the savages, routed them in a few minutes and drove them. They were crushed and there was no more fight in them for fifteen years.

General Wayne was a Revolutionary soldier, and had little love for the British. The sight of their fort on American soil filled him with impatience to attack it; but he did not wish to do so without a pretext. He hoped to provoke the garrison to attack him, to give him an excuse to destroy the fort. He therefore camped his army after the battle within half a mile of the fort. The commandant sent a message to him saying: "The commandant of the British fort is surprised to see an American army advanced so far into this country," and "why has the army had the assurance to camp under the very mouth of His Majesty's cannon?" General Wayne answered that the battle which had just taken place might well inform the British what the American army was doing in that country, and added: "Had the flying savages taken shelter under the walls of the fort, His Majesty's cannon should not have protected them." Two days later General Wayne destroyed everything to within one hundred yards of the fort, and laid waste the Indian fields of corn, pumpkins and beans for miles around. The country was highly cultivated, there being thousands of acres in corn and vegetables. Finding that his efforts thus far had failed to provoke an attack by the garrison, General Wayne led his soldiers at within pistol shot of the walls, in hope of bringing a shot from his inveterate enemies. But the only reply General Wayne received was a flag of truce with another message, which stated that "the British commandant is much aggrieved at seeing His Majesty's colors insulted." Wayne then burned all the houses and destroyed all the property to the very walls of the fort. This campaign ended the depredation of the Indians in West Virginia.

CHAPTER VI.

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SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES.

West Virginia's boundaries coincide, in part, with the boundaries of five other States, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. Some of these lines are associated with events of historical interest, and for a number of years were subjects of controversy, not always friendly. It is understood, of course, that all the boundary lines of the territory now embraced in West Virginia, except the line between this State and Virginia, were agreed to and settled before West Virginia became a separate State. That is, the lines between this State and Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky and Ohio were all settled more than one hundred years ago. To speak briefly of each, the line separating West Virginia from Ohio may be taken first.

At the time the Articles of Confederation were under discussion in Congress, 1778, Virginia's territory extended westward to the Mississippi River. The government of the United States never recognized the Quebec Act, which was passed by the English Parliament before the Revolutionary War, and which extended the province of Quebec south to the Ohio River. Consequently, after the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia's claim to that territory was not disputed by the other colonies; but when the time came for agreeing to the Articles of Confederation which bound the states together in one common country, objection was raised to Virginia's extensive territory, which was nearly as large as all the other states together. The fear was expressed that Virginia would become so powerful and wealthy, on account of its extent, that it would possess and exercise an influence in the affairs of government too great for the well-being of the other states.

Maryland appears to have been the first state to take a decided stand that Virginia should cede its territory north and west of the Ohio to the general government. It was urged in justification of this course that the territory had been conquered from the British and the Indians by the blood and treasure of the whole country, and that it was right that the vacant lands should be appropriated to the use of the citizens of the whole country. Maryland took this stand June 22, 1778. Virginia refused to consent to the ceding of her western territory; and from that time till February 2, 1781, Maryland refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation. On November 2, 1778, New Jersey formally filed an objection to Virginia's large territory; but the New Jersey delegates finally signed the Articles of Confederation, expressing at the same time the conviction that justice would in due time remove the inequality in territories as far as possible. On February 22, 1779, the delegates from Delaware signed, but also remonstrated, and presented resolutions setting forth that the United States Com-

gress ought to have power to fix the western limits of any state claiming territory to the Mississippi or beyond. On May 21, 1778, the delegates from Maryland laid before Congress instructions received by them from the General Assembly of Maryland. The point aimed at in these instructions was that those states having almost boundless western territory had it in their power to sell lands at a very low price, thus filling their treasuries with money, thereby lessening taxation; and at the same time the cheap lands and the low taxes would draw away from adjoining states many of the best inhabitants. Congress was, therefore, asked to use its influence with those states having extensive territory, to the end that they would not place their lands on the market until the close of the Revolutionary War. Virginia was not mentioned by name, but it was well known that reference was made to that State. Congress passed, October 30, 1779, a resolution requesting Virginia not to open a land office till the close of the war. On March 7, 1780, the delegates from New York announced that State ready to give up its western territory; and this was formally done on March 1, 1781. New York having thus opened the way, other states followed the example and ceded to the United States their western territories or claims as follows: Virginia, March 1, 1784; Massachusetts, April 19, 1785; Connecticut, September 14, 1786; South Carolina, August 9, 1787; North Carolina, February 25, 1790; Georgia, April 24, 1802.

Within less than two months after Virginia ceded her northwest territory to the United States, Congress passed an ordinance for the government of the territory. The deed of cession was made by Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Samuel Hardy and James Monroe, delegates in Congress from Virginia. The boundary line between Virginia and the territory ceded to the general government was the northwest bank of the Ohio River at low water. The islands in the stream belonged to Virginia. When West Virginia became a separate State, the boundary remained unchanged.

The line between West Virginia and Kentucky remains the same as that formerly separating Virginia from Kentucky. The General Assembly of Virginia, December 18, 1789, passed an act authorizing a convention to be held in the District of Kentucky to consider whether it was expedient to form that district into a separate State. The convention decided to form a State, and Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792. Commissioners were appointed to adjust the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky, and agreed that the line separating the two states should remain the same as that formerly separating Virginia from the District of Kentucky. The line is as follows so far as West Virginia and Kentucky are contiguous: Beginning at the northwestern point of McDowell County, thence down Big Sandy River to its confluence with the Ohio.

The line dividing the northern limits of West Virginia from the southern limits of Pennsylvania was for many years a matter of dispute. Maryland and Pennsylvania had nearly a century of bickering concerning the matter before Virginia took it up in earnest. It is not necessary at this time to give the details of the controversy. A few facts will suffice. Pennsylvania and Maryland having contended for a long time over their common boundary line, two eminent astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon of England, were employed to mark a line five degrees west from the Delaware River at a point where it is crossed by the parallel of north latitude 39 degrees, 43 minutes, 23 seconds. They commenced work in the latter part of 1763, and completed it in the latter part of 1787. This line,

salled Mason and Dixon's line, was accepted as the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the controversy was at an end. But beyond the west line of Maryland, where Virginia's and Pennsylvania's possessions came in contact, a dispute arose, almost leading to open hostilities between the people of the two states. Virginia wanted Pittsburg, and boldly and stubbornly set up a claim to territory, at least as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude. This would have given Virginia part of Fayette and Greene Counties, Pennsylvania. On the other hand, Pennsylvania claimed the country south to the thirty-ninth degree, which would have extended its jurisdiction over the present territory of West Virginia included in the counties of Monongalia, Preston, Marion, Taylor, parts of Tucker, Barbour, Upshur, Lewis, Harrison, Wetzel and Randolph. The territory in dispute was about four times as large as the State of Rhode Island. It was finally settled by a compromise. It was agreed that the Mason and Dixon's line be extended west five degrees from the Delaware River. The commissioners appointed to adjust the boundary were Dr. James Madison and Robert Amirews on the part of Virginia, and David Rittenhouse, John Ewing and George Bryan on the part of Pennsylvania. They met at Baltimore in 1779 and agreed upon a line. The next year the agreement was ratified, by Virginia in June and Pennsylvania in September. A line was then run due north from the western end of Mason and Dixon's line, till it reached the Ohio River. This completed the boundary lines between Virginia and Pennsylvania; and West Virginia's territory is bounded by the same lines.

The fixing of the boundary between Virginia and Maryland was long a subject of controversy. It began in the early years of the colony, long before the Revolutionary War, and has continued, it may be said, till the present day, for occasionally the agitation is revived. West Virginia inherited most of the subject of dispute when it set up a separate government. The controversy began so early in the history of the country, when the geography of what is now West Virginia was so imperfectly understood, that boundaries were stated in general terms, following certain rivers; and in after time these general terms were differently understood. Nearly two hundred years ago the Potomac River was designated as the dividing line between lands granted in Maryland and lands granted in Virginia; but at that time the upper tributaries of that river had never been explored, and as no one knew what was the main stream and what were tributary streams, Lord Fairfax had the stream explored, and the explorers decided that the main river had its source at a point where the Fairfax Stone was planted, the present corner of Tucker, Preston and Grant Counties, in West Virginia. It also was claimed as the southwest corner of Maryland. It has so remained to this day, but not without much controversy on the part of Maryland.

The claim was set up by Maryland, in 1830, that the stream known as the South Branch of the Potomac is the main Potomac River, and that all territory north of that stream and south of Pennsylvania, belonged to Maryland. A line drawn due north from the source of the South Branch to the Pennsylvania line was to be the western boundary of Maryland. Had that State succeeded in establishing its claim and extending its jurisdiction, the following territory would have been transferred to Maryland: Part of Highland County, Virginia; portions of Randolph, Tucker, Preston, Pendleton, Hardy, Grant, Hampshire and all of Mineral Counties, West Vir-

ginia. The claim of Maryland was resisted, and Governor Floyd, of Virginia, appointed Charles J. Faulkner, of Martinsburg, to investigate the whole matter, and ascertain, if possible, which was the main Potomac, and to consult all available early authorities on the subject. Mr. Faulkner filed his report November 6, 1832, and in this report he showed that the South Branch was not the main Potomac, and that the line as fixed by Lord Fairfax's surveyors remained the true and proper boundary between Virginia and Maryland. The line due north from the Fairfax Stone to the Pennsylvania line remains the boundary in that quarter between West Virginia and Maryland, but the latter State is still disputing it.

When West Virginia separated from Virginia and took steps to set up a government for itself, it was at one time proposed to call the State Kanawha; and its eastern boundary was indicated so as to exclude some of the best counties now in the State. The counties to be excluded were Mercer, Greenbrier, Monroe, Pocahontas, Pendleton, Hardy, then including Grant; Hampshire, then including Mineral; Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson. It was provided that any adjoining county of Virginia on the east might become a part of the State of West Virginia whenever a majority of the people of the county expressed a willingness to enter the new State. But, before the State was admitted the boundary line was changed and was fixed as it now is found.

As is well known, the territory which now forms West Virginia was a portion of Virginia from the first exploration of the country until separated from the State during the Civil War, in 1861. For a quarter of a century after the first settlement was planted in Virginia there were no counties; but as the country began to be explored, and when the original settlement at Jamestown grew, and others were made, it was deemed expedient to divide the State into counties, although the entire population at that time was scarcely enough for one respectable county. Accordingly, Virginia was divided into eight counties in 1634. The western limits were not clearly defined, except that Virginia claimed the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and it was no doubt intended that the counties on the west should embrace all her territory in that direction. The country beyond the Blue Ridge was unexplored, and only the vaguest ideas existed concerning it. There was a prevailing belief that beyond the Blue Ridge the country sloped to the Pacific, and that a river would be found with its source in the Blue Ridge and its mouth in that ocean.

The eastern portion of West Virginia, along the Potomac and its tributaries in 1735, was no longer an unbroken wilderness, but settlements existed in several places. In 1738 it was urged that there were people enough in the territory to warrant the formation of a new county. Accordingly, that portion of Orange west of the Blue Ridge was formed into two counties, Augusta and Frederick. Thus Orange County no longer embraced any portion of the territory now in this State. Frederick County embraced the lower, or northern part of the Shenandoah Valley, with Winchester as the county seat, and Augusta the Southern, or Upper Valley, with Staunton as the seat of justice. Augusta then included almost all of West Virginia and extended to the Mississippi River, including Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. From its territory all the counties of West Virginia, except Jefferson, Berkeley and part of Morgan, have been formed, and its subdivision into counties will be the subject of this chapter. No part of West Virginia retains the name of Augusta, but the county still exists in

Virginia, part of the original county of that name, and its county seat is the same as at first Hagerstown.

In 1768 Hotchkiss county was formed from Augusta and included the territory now embraced in McDowell, Wyoming, Mercer, Monroe, Raleigh and portions of Greenbrier, Boone and Logan. No county in West Virginia now has the name Hotchkiss. It is thus seen that no one of the first counties in the territory of West Virginia retains any name in it. Essex, Spotsylvania, Orange, Augusta and Hotchkiss, each in its turn, embraced large parts of the State, but all the territory remaining under the original name is found in old Virginia, where the names are preserved. The District of West Augusta was a peculiar division of West Virginia's present



MAP OF THE FIRST COUNTY WHOLLY IN WEST VIRGINIA.

territory. It was not a county. Its boundary lines as laid down in the Act of Assembly in 1776, failed to meet—that is, one side of the District was open and without a boundary. Yet counties were formed from West Augusta as if it were a county and subject to division. From it Monongalia was taken, yet part of Monongalia was never in the District of West Augusta. The confusion was due to the ignorance of the geography of the region at that time. The boundary lines, from a mathematical standpoint, enclosed nothing, or, at any rate, it is uncertain what they enclosed. The act of 1776, declaring the line between Augusta County and the District of West Augusta reads as follows.

"Beginning on the Alleghany Mountain between the heads of the Potomac, Cheat and Greenbrier Rivers, thence along the ridge of mountains which divides the waters of

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY

1758

A. E. G.

Original County Line

Lines of Present Counties

Farms are Marked X

Places are Marked o



MAP OF THE FIRST COUNTY WHOLLY IN WEST VIRGINIA

territory. It was not a county. Its boundary lines as laid down in the Act
of Assembly of Virginia, 1750, were as follows:—
Beginning at the mouth of the Cheat River, where it joins the Tygart River,
and running thence along the said river to the mouth of the Tygart River,
where it joins the Cheat River; thence along the said river to the mouth of
the Little Kanawha River, where it joins the Cheat River; thence along
the said river to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, where it joins
the Cheat River; thence along the said river to the mouth of the Potowomoy
River, where it joins the Cheat River; thence along the said river to the
mouth of the Potowomoy River, where it joins the Cheat River; thence
along the said river to the mouth of the Cheat River, where it joins the
Tygart River; thence along the said river to the beginning.

SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES.

Cheat from those of Greenbrier, and that branch of the Monongahela called Tygart's Valley River to the Monongahela River; thence up the said river and the west fork thereof to Blingeman's Creek, on the northwest side of the said west fork, thence up the said creek to the head thereof, thence in a direct course to the head of the Middle Island Creek, a branch of the Ohio, including all the waters of said creek in the aforesaid District of West Augusta. All that territory lying to the northward of the aforesaid boundary, and to the westward of the states of Pennsylvania and Maryland, shall be deemed, and is hereby declared to be in the District of West Augusta."

The territory so laid off would include of the present counties of West Virginia a narrow strip through the center of Randolph, east of Cheat Mountain, one fourth of Tucker, the western half of Preston, nearly all of Marion, and Monongalia, Wetzel, Marshall, Ohio, Brooke and Hancock, part of Tyler and Pleasants, a small corner of Doddridge, and an indefinite part of the present State of Pennsylvania. The eastern parts of Tucker, Randolph and Preston, outside the boundaries of West Augusta, were subsequently included in Monongalia County, under the apparent presumption that they had belonged to West Augusta.

Following is a list of the counties of West Virginia, with the date of formation, area and from whom named:

HAMPSHIRE, 630 square miles; formed 1754 from Augusta; named for Hampshire, England; settled about 1730.

BERKELEY, 320 square miles; formed 1772 from Frederick; named for Governor Berkeley, of Virginia; settled about 1730.

MONONGALIA, 360 square miles, formed 1776 from West Augusta; named for the river; settled 1758.

OHIO, 120 miles; formed 1776 from West Augusta; settled 1770; named for the river.

GREENBRIER, 1000 miles; formed 1777 from Botetourt; settled 1750; named for briars growing on the river bank.

HARRISON, 450 miles; formed 1784 from Monongalia; settled 1770; named for Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.

HARDY, 700 miles, formed from Hampshire 1785; settled 1740; named for Samuel Hardy, of Virginia.

RANDOLPH, 1080 miles; formed 1786 from Harrison; settled 1753; named for Edmund Randolph.

PENNELTON, 650 miles; formed 1787 from Augusta, Hardy and Rockingham; settled 1750; named for Edmund Pendleton.

KANAWHA, 960 miles; formed 1789 from Greenbrier and Montgomery; settled 1774; named for the river.

BROOKE, 80 miles; formed from Ohio 1796; settled about 1772; named for Robert Brooke, Governor of Virginia.

WOOD, 375 miles; formed from Harrison 1798; settled about 1773; named for James Wood, Governor of Virginia.

MONTROSE, 460 miles; formed 1799 from Greenbrier; settled about 1760; named for James Monroe.

JEFFERSON, 250 miles; formed 1801 from Berkeley; settled about 1730; named for Thomas Jefferson.

MASON, 430 miles; formed 1804 from Kanawha; settled about 1774; named for George Mason, of Virginia.

CABELL, 300 miles; formed from Kanawha 1809; settled about 1790; named for William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia.

TYLER, 300 miles, formed from Ohio 1814; settled about 1776; named for John Tyler.

LEWIS, 400 miles; formed from Harrison 1816; settled about 1780; named for Colonel Charles Lewis.

NICHOLAS, 720 miles; formed 1818 from Kanawha, Greenbrier and Randolph; named for W. C. Nicholas, Governor of Virginia.

PRESTON, 650 miles; formed 1818 from Monongalia; settled about 1780; named for James P. Preston, Governor of Virginia.

MORGAN, 300 miles; formed 1820 from Hampshire and Berkeley; settled about 1730; named for Daniel Morgan.

POCAHONTAS, 420 miles; formed 1821 from Bath, Pendleton and Randolph; settled 1740; named for Pocahontas, an Indian girl.

LOGAN, 400 miles, formed from Kanawha, Giles, Cabell and Tazwell, 1824; named for Logan, an Indian.

JACKSON, 400 miles; formed 1831 from Kanawha, Wood and Mason; settled about 1796; named for Andrew Jackson.

FAYETTE, 750 miles; formed from Logan, Kanawha, Greenbrier and Nicholas 1831; named for Lafayette.

MARSHALL, 240 miles; formed 1835 from Ohio; settled about 1789; named for Chief Justice Marshall.

BRAKTON, 620 miles; formed 1836 from Kanawha, Lewis and Nicholas; settled about 1784; named for Carter Braxton.

MERCER, 400 miles; formed 1837 from Giles and Tazwell; named for General Hugh Mercer.

MARIION, 300 miles; formed 1842 from Harrison and Monongalia; named for General Marion.

WAYNE, 440 miles; formed 1841 from Cabell; named for General Anthony Wayne.

TAYLOR, 150 miles; formed 1844 from Harrison, Barbour and Marion; named for John Taylor.

DODDRIDGE, 300 miles; formed 1845 from Harrison, Tyler, Ritchie and Lewis; named for Philip Doddridge.

GILMER, 360 miles; formed 1845 from Kanawha and Lewis; named for Thomas W. Gilmer of Virginia.

WETZEL, 440 miles; formed 1846 from Tyler; named for Lewis Wetzel.

BOONE, 500 miles; formed 1847 from Kanawha, Cabell and Logan; named for Daniel Boone.

PUTNAM, 320 miles; formed 1848 from Kanawha, Cabell and Mason; named for Israel Putnam.

BARBOUR, 360 miles; formed 1843 from Harrison, Lewis and Randolph; named for James Barbour, governor of Virginia.

RITCHIE, 400 miles; formed 1844 from Harrison, Lewis and Wood; named for Thomas Ritchie of Virginia.

WIRT, 280 miles; formed 1848 from Wood and Jackson; settled about 1796; named for William Wirt.

HANCOCK, 100 miles; formed 1848 from Brooke; settled about 1778; named for John Hancock.

RALEIGH, 690 miles; formed 1850 from Fayette; named for Sir Walter Raleigh.

WYOMING, 490 miles; formed 1850 from Logan; an Indian name.

PLEASANTS, 150 miles; formed 1851 from Wood, Tyler and Ritchie; named for James Pleasants, governor of Virginia.

ROSSITER, 350 miles; formed 1851 from Randolph, Barbour and Lewis; settled about 1767; named for Judge A. P. Upshur.

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CALHOUN, 260 miles; formed 1856 from Gilmer; named for J. C. Calhoun.

ROANE, 350 miles; formed 1856 from Kanawha, Jackson and Gilmer; settled about 1791; named for Judge Roane of Virginia.

TUCKER, 340 miles; formed 1856 from Randolph; settled about 1774; named for Judge St. George Tucker.

CLAY, 390 miles; formed 1858 from Braxton and Nicholas; named for Henry Clay.

MCDOWELL, 800 miles; formed 1858 from Tazwell; named for James McDowell, governor of Virginia.

WEBSTER, 450 miles; formed 1860 from Randolph, Nicholas and Braxton; named for Daniel Webster.

MINERAL, 300 miles; formed 1866 from Hampshire; named for its coal.

GRANT, 620 miles; formed 1866 from Hardy; named for General U. S. Grant; settled about 1740.

LINCOLN, 400 miles; formed 1867 from Kanawha, Cabell, Boone and Putnam; settled about 1799; named for Abraham Lincoln.

SUMMERS, 400 miles; formed 1871 from Monroe, Mercer, Greenbrier and Fayette; named for Lewis and George W. Summers.

MINGO, about 400 miles; formed 1895 from Logan; named for Logan the Mingo.

SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES.

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POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF WEST VIRGINIA
EACH TEN YEARS FROM 1790 TO 1890,
BOTH INCLUSIVE.

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Hampshire	7346	8348	9784	10889	11279	12245	14036	13613	7613	10208	11439
Berkley	19713	23096	11479	11211	10518	10673	11713	12525	14900	17380	18703
Monongalia	4768	8340	12763	13069	14056	13358	12871	13048	1347	18988	15705
Ohio	5212	4740	8175	9182	12584	13051	10966	23428	28831	37451	41587
Greenbrier	6015	4345	5914	3041	9006	8845	10218	12211	11117	18060	18034
Harrison	2080	4848	9938	10863	14721	17699	11728	10798	16734	30181	29419
Hardy	1338	6627	8025	7309	6798	7622	9443	9864	5148	6734	7367
Randolph	951	1820	2854	3357	5000	6208	5243	4990	5363	8105	11633
Pendleton	2452	3942	4238	4846	6271	6940	5797	6164	6455	8625	8711
Kanawha	2339	3866	6399	9326	15987	15353	16151	22349	32460	42576	
Brooke	4796	5843	6031	7041	7948	5054	5494	5464	8013	8660	
Wood	1217	3036	5860	6428	7923	9450	11049	19000	25008	28612	
Moore	4188	5444	6580	7798	8422	10204	10757	11124	11508	12429	
Jefferson	11853	15087	12827	14082	15357	14535	13219	15055	15653		
Mason	1910	4868	6334	6737	7539	8173	10975	22269	23943		
Cabell	2711	4789	5884	8163	6369	5029	643	13744	23128		
Tyler		2314	4204	4954	5498	6517	7832	11073	11962		
Lewis		4247	6241	8151	10631	1099	10115	13269	15865		
Nicholas		1853	3348	2255	3863	4627	4458	7223	8907		
Preston		3428	5144	6866	11708	13312	14553	19094	23335		
Morgan		2500	3994	4253	3557	3732	4813	5777	6774		
Pocahontas		2542	2912	3588	3958	4069	5591	6354			
Logan		3680	4309	3620	4928	5124	7229	11101			
Jackson			4890	6544	8306	19906	16112	19021			
Fayette			3924	3955	5897	6647	11580	20542			
Marshall			6871	10138	12937	14941	18840	20735			
Braxton			2075	4112	4992	6480	9181	13928			
Mercer			2293	4225	6819	1064	7465	19002			
Marion				10552	12722	12107	17988	20721			
Wayne				4760	6747	7852	14739	18652			
Taylor				5257	8463	9861	11455	12147			
Doddridge				2750	5268	7076	10652	12183			
Gilmer				3475	3759	4330	7108	9746			
Wetzel				4282	6703	8559	13894	16841			
Boone				3237	4540	4553	5824	6885			
Putnam				5353	6301	7744	11275	14342			
Barbour				9005	8958	10312	11870	12702			
Ritchie				3802	6847	9056	12474	16621			
Wirt				3383	3751	4804	7104	9411			
Hancock				4650	4445	4933	4882	6414			
Raleigh				1765	3387	3673	7367	9307			
Wyoming				1643	2861	3171	4322	6247			
Pleasants					2943	3012	6256	1539			
Upshur					7282	8023	10249	12714			
Calhoun					2502	2630	6972	8155			
Roane					5381	7223	12184	15303			
Tucker					1428	1907	3151	6459			
Clay					1387	2194	3460	4659			
McDowell						1535	1932	3074	7300		
Webster						1565	1730	3207	4783		
Mineral							6333	8630	12065		
Grant							4407	5542	6802		
Lincoln							5053	8129	11546		
Summers								9403	13117		
Mingo											

CHAPTER X.

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CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

The territory now embraced in the State of West Virginia has been governed under five State constitutions, three of Virginia's and two of West Virginia's. The first was adopted in 1776, the second in 1830, the third in 1851, the fourth in 1863, the fifth in 1872. The first constitution was passed by the Virginia Convention, June 29, 1776, five days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Virginia had taken the lead in declaring the United States independent and capable of self-government; and it also took the lead in preparing a system of government for itself. The constitution passed by its convention in 1776 was one of the first documents of the kind in the world, and absolutely the first in America. Its aim was lofty. It had in view greater liberty than men had ever before enjoyed. The document is a masterpiece of statesmanship, yet its terms are simple. It was the foundation on which nearly all the State constitutions have been based. It was in force nearly fifty years, and not until experience had shown wherein it was defective was there any disposition to change it or form a new constitution. Viewed now in the light of nearly a century and a quarter of progressive government, there are features seen in it which do not conform to the ideas of statesmen of today. But it was so much better, at the time of its adoption, than anything gone before that it was entirely satisfactory.

A Bill of Rights preceded the first constitution. On May 15, 1776, the Virginia Convention instructed its delegates in Congress to propose to that body to declare the United Colonies independent, and at the same time the Convention appointed a committee to prepare a Declaration of Rights and a plan of government for Virginia. On June 12 the Bill of Rights was passed. The document was written by George Mason, member of the committee. This state paper is of interest, not only as being one of the earliest of the kind in America, but because it contains inconsistencies which in after years clung to the laws of Virginia, carrying injustice with them, until West Virginia, when it became a State, refused to allow them to become part of the laws of the new Commonwealth. The chief of these inconsistencies is found in the just declaration at the outset of the Bill of Rights, "that all men are by nature equally free and independent;" and yet further on it paves the way for restricting the privilege of suffrage to those who own property, thereby declaring in terms, if not in words, that a poor man is not as free and independent as a rich man. Here was the beginning of the doctrine so long held in Virginia by its law-makers, that a man without property should not have a voice in the government. In after years this doctrine was combated by the people of the territory now forming West

Virginia. The inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge, and especially west of the Alleghanies, were the champions of universal suffrage, and they labored to attain that end, but with little success until they were able to set up a government for themselves, in which government men were placed above property. Further on in this chapter something more will be found on this subject.

The Bill of Rights declares that the freedom of the press is one of the chief bulwarks of liberty. This is in marked contrast with and a noticeable advance beyond the doctrine held by Sir William Berkeley, one of Virginia's royal governors, who solemnly declared, "I thank God we have not free schools or printing, and I hope we will not have these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both." This solemn protest of Virginia's Governor was made nearly forty years after the founding of Harvard University in Massachusetts. It has been sometimes cited as an illustration of the difference between the Puritan civilization in Massachusetts and the Cavalier civilization of Virginia. But the comparison is unfair. It was no test of Virginia's civilization, for the Governor was carrying out instructions from England to suppress printing, and he did not consult the people of the colony whether they wanted printing presses or not. But when a printer, John Buckner by name, ten years after Governor Berkeley asked divine protection against schools and printing, ventured into Virginia with a press he was promptly brought before the Governor and was compelled to give bond that he would print nothing until the King of England gave consent.

In view of this experience it is not to be wondered at that the Virginians were prompt in declaring in their Bill of Rights that the press should be free. But they did not embrace that excellent opportunity to say a word in favor of schools. Nor could they, at one sweep, bring themselves to the broad doctrine that property does not round off and complete the man, but that "a man's a man for a' that," and capable, competent and trustworthy to take full part in the affairs of government. This Bill of Rights was brought into existence in the early part of the Revolutionary War, and at that very time the bold, patient, patriotic and poor backwoodsmen from the frontiers were in the American armies fighting and dying in the cause of liberty and equal rights; and yet, by laws then being enacted, these same men were denied the right to take part in the management of the government which they were fighting to establish. It was for no other reason than that they were not possessed with enough property to give "sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community." This notion had been brought from England, and had been fastened upon the colony of Virginia so firmly that it could not be shaken off when that State severed the political tie which bound it to the mother country. The idea clung to the constitution passed in 1776; to that of 1803; to that of 1851; but sentiment against the property qualification for suffrage constantly grew, and particularly among the people of Western Virginia, until it manifested itself in striking the obnoxious clause from the constitution when the State of West Virginia came into separate existence.

If the War of the Revolution did not teach the statesmen of Virginia that the poor man can be a patriot, and if the thirty-five or more years intervening between the adoption of the constitution of 1776 and the second war with England had not suffice to do so, it might be supposed that the new

experience of the War of 1812 would have made the fact clear. But it did not convince the law-mover. Virginia was speedily invaded by the British after the declaration of war, and some of the most valuable property in the State was destroyed, and some of the best territory was overrun by the enemy. The city of Washington, just across the Potomac from Virginia, was captured and burned. An ex-President of the United States was compelled to hide in the woods to avoid capture by the enemy. In this critical time no soldiers fought more valiantly, none did more to drive back the invader, than the men from Western Virginia, where lived most of those who were classed too poor to take part in the affairs of government. It is said that sometimes half the men in a company of soldiers had never been permitted to vote because they did not own enough property.

The people of Western Virginia felt the injustice keenly. They never failed to respond promptly to a call when their services were needed in the field, but in time of peace they sought in a lawful and decent manner the redress of their grievances. They could not obtain this redress under the constitution then in force, and the War of 1812 had scarcely come to a close when the subject of a new constitution began to be spoken of. It was agitated long in vain. Nor was the restriction of suffrage the only wrong the people of Western Virginia endured, somewhat impatiently, but always with full respect for the laws then in force.

The eastern part of Virginia had the majority of inhabitants and the largest part of the property, and this gave that portion of the State the majority in the Assembly. This power was used with small respect for the rights of the people in the western part of the State. Internal improvements were made on a large scale in the east, but none were made west of the mountains, or very few. Men in the western counties had little encouragement to aspire to political distinction. The door was shut on them. The State offices were filled by men from the wealthy eastern districts. At length the agitation of the question of a new constitution ripened into results. The Assembly of Virginia in 1828 passed a bill submitting to a vote of the people whether they would have a constitutional convention called. At the election there were 38,542 votes cast, of which 21,896 were in favor of a constitutional convention. By far the heaviest vote favoring the convention was cast west of the Blue Ridge. The wealthy slave-owners of the lower counties wanted no change. The constitution had been framed to suit them, and they wanted nothing better. They feared that any change would give them something less suitable. Nevertheless, when the votes were counted and it was ascertained that a new constitution was inevitable, the representatives of the wealth of the State set to work to guard against any invasion of the privileges they had so long enjoyed.

The delegates from what is now West Virginia elected to this convention were: R. M. Wilson and Charles S. Morgan, of Monongalia County; William McCay, of Pendleton County; Alexander Campbell and Philip Doddridge, of Brooke County; Andrew Birne, of Monroe County; William Smith, of Greenbrier County; John Huxter, of Pocahontas; H. L. Opie and Thomas Griggs, of Jefferson; William Naylor and William Donaldson, of Hampshire; Philip Pendleton and Nelson Boyd, of Berkeley; E. S. Duncan, of Harrison; John Ladley, of Cabell; Lewis Summers, of Kanawha; Adam See, of Randolph. The leader of the western delegates in the convention was Philip Doddridge, who did all in his power to have the property qualification clause omitted from the new constitution.

The convention met at Richmond, October 5, 1829. From the very first meeting the western members were slighted. No western man was named in the selection of officers of the convention. It was seen at the outset that the property qualification for suffrage would not be given up by the eastern members without a struggle, and it was soon made plain that this qualification would have a majority. It was during the debates in this convention that Philip Doddridge, one of West Virginia's greatest men, came to the front in his full stature. His opponents were Randolph, Leigh, Upshur, Tazewell, Standard and others, who supported the doctrine that a voter should be a property-owner. One of Doddridge's colleagues was Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, sometimes known as the Christian Church, and again called, from its founder, the Campbellite Church. Here were two powerful intellects, Doddridge and Campbell, and they championed the cause of liberty in a form more advanced than was then allowed in Virginia. Doddridge himself had followed the plow, and he felt that the honest man does not need a certain number of acres before he can be trusted with the right of suffrage. He had served in the Virginia Legislature and knew from observation and experience the needs of the people in his part of the State. He was born on the bank of the Ohio River two years before the backwoodsmen of Virginia annulled the Quebec Act, passed by the Parliament of England, and he had grown to manhood in the dangers and vicissitudes of the frontiers. He was but five years old at the first siege of Fort Henry, and was ten years old at the second siege; and the shot which brought down the last British flag that floated above the soil of Virginia during the Revolutionary War was fired almost within hearing of his home. Among his neighbors were Lewis Wetzel, Ebenezer Zane, Samuel Brady and the men who fought to save the homes of the frontier settlers during the long and anxious years of Indian warfare. Although Doddridge died two years after this convention, while serving in Congress, he had done enough to give West Virginia reason for remembering him. The work of Campbell does not stand out in so conspicuous a manner in the proceedings of the convention, but his influence for good was great; and if the delegates from west of the mountains labored in vain for that time, the result was seen in later years.

The work of the convention was brought to a close in 1830, and a new constitution was given to the voters of the State for their approval or rejection. The western members had failed to strike out the distasteful property qualification. They had all voted against it except Doddridge, who was unable to attend that session on account of sickness, no doubt due to overwork. His vote, however, would have changed nothing, as the eastern members had a large majority and carried every measure they wanted. In the dissatisfaction consequent upon the failure of the western counties to secure what they considered justice began the movement for a new State. More than thirty years elapsed before the object was attained, and it was brought about by means and from causes which not the wisest statesman foresaw in 1830, yet the sentiment had been growing all the years. The old State of Virginia was never forgiven the offense and injury done the western district in the constitutional convention of 1829-1830. If the injustice was partly removed by the enlarged suffrage granted in the constitution adopted twenty years after, it was then too late for the atonement to be accepted as a blotting out of past wrongs; and in 1861 the people of West Virginia replied to the old State's long years of oppression and tyranny.

The constitution of 1830 adopted the Bill of Rights of 1776 without amendment or change. Then followed a long preamble reciting the wrongs under which Virginia suffered, prior to the Revolutionary War, before independence was secured. Under this constitution the Virginia House of Delegates consisted of one hundred and thirty-four members, of which twenty-six were chosen by the counties lying west of the Alleghenies; twenty-five by the counties between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, forty-two by the counties between the Blue Ridge and tidewater, and thirty-six by the tidewater counties. The Senate consisted of thirty-two members, of which thirteen were from the counties west of the Blue Ridge. No priest or preacher was eligible to the Legislature. The right of suffrage was based on a property qualification. The ballot was forbidden and all voting was *viva voce*. Judges of the supreme court and of the superior courts were not elected by the people, but by the joint vote of the Senate and House of Delegates. The Attorney General was chosen in the same way. Sheriffs and Coroners were nominated by the county courts and appointed by the Governor. Justices of the Peace were appointed by the Governor and the Constables were appointed by the Justices. Clerks were appointed by the courts. The State Treasurer was elected by the joint vote of the Senate and House of Delegates. It is thus seen that the only State officers for which people could vote directly were Senators and members of the House of Delegates. Such an arrangement would be very unsatisfactory at the present day among people who have become accustomed to select their officers, almost without exception, from the highest to the lowest. The growth of the Republican principle of Government has been gradual. It was not all grasped at once; nor has it reached its fullest development yet. The Bill of Rights and the first constitution of Virginia were a great step forward from the bad Government under England's Colonial system; but the gathered wisdom of more than a century has discovered and corrected many imperfections.

It is noticeable that the constitution of 1830 contains no provisions for public schools. It may be stated generally that the early history of Virginia shows little development of the common school idea. The State which was satisfied for seventy-five years with suffrage denied the poor would not be likely to become famous for its zeal in the cause of popular education. The rich, who voted, could afford schools for their children; and the father who was poor could neither take part in the Government nor educate his children. Virginia was behind most of the old states in free schools. At the very time that Governor Berkeley thanked God that there were neither free schools nor printing presses in Virginia, Connecticut was devoting to education one fourth of its revenue from taxation. As late as 1857 Virginia with a population of nearly a million and a half, had only 41,000 children in common schools. When this is compared with other states, the contrast is striking. Massachusetts with a smaller population had five times as many children in the free schools; New Hampshire with one fifth the population had twice as many; Illinois had nearly eight times as many, yet a smaller population; Ohio with a population a little larger had more than fourteen times as many children in public schools as Virginia. The following additional states in 1857 had more children attending common schools than Virginia had in proportion to their population: Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kentucky.

Maryland, Louisiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama. The states with a smaller percentage of children in the common schools than Virginia's were South Carolina, California and Mississippi. For the remainder of the states, the statistics for that year were not compiled.

The showing is bad for Virginia. Although the lack of provision for popular education in the convention of 1830 does not appear to have caused opposition from the western members, yet the promptness with which the State of West Virginia provided for public schools as soon as it had a chance, is evidence that the sentiment west of the Alleghanies was strong in favor of popular education.

When the western delegates returned home after completing their labors in the convention of 1829-1830, they found that their constituents were much dissatisfied with the constitution. The chief thing contended for, less restriction on suffrage, had been refused, and the new constitution, while in some respects better than the old, retained the most objectionable feature of the old. At the election held early in 1830 for ratifying or rejecting the new constitution, 41,618 votes were cast, of which, 26,055 were for ratification and 15,563 against. The eastern part of the State voted strongly for ratification; the western part against it. Only two counties in what is now West Virginia gave a majority for it; and only one east of the Blue Ridge voted against it. The vote by counties in West Virginia was as follows: Berkeley, for 95, against 161; Brooke, the home of Doddridge and Campbell, for 0, against 371; Cabell, for 5, against 384; Greenbrier, for 34, against 464; Hampshire, for 241, against 211; Hardy, for 68, against 120; Harrison, for 8, against 1,112; Jefferson, for 243, against 53; Kanawha, for 42, against 266; Lewis, for 10, against 546; Logan, for 2, against 255; Mason, for 31, against 369; Monongalia, for 305, against 460; Monroe, for 19, against 451; Morgan, for 29, against 156; Nicholas, for 28, against 325; Ohio for 8, against 648; Pendleton, for 58, against 219; Pocahontas, for 9, against 268; Preston, for 121, against 357; Randolph, for 4, against 567; Tyler, for 5, against 299; Wood, for 28, against 410. Total, for 1,388, against 8,375.

Although the constitution of 1830 was unsatisfactory to the people of the western counties, and they had voted to reject it, it had been fastened upon them by the vote of the eastern counties. However, the matter was not to end there. In a Republican Government the way to reach a redress of grievances is to keep the proposed reform constantly before the people. If right, it will finally prevail. In all reform movements or questions, the right is nearly always in the minority at first; perhaps it is always so. The Western Virginians had been voted down, but they at once began to agitate the question of calling another constitutional convention. They kept at it for twenty years. Finally a Legislature was chosen which called an election on the subject of a constitutional convention. The majority of the Legislature was in favor of the convention, and in May, 1850, an election was held to choose delegates. Those elected from the country west of the Alleghanies, and from districts partly east and partly west of those mountains, were John Kenny, A. M. Newman, John Lionberger, George E. Demens, G. B. Sanecks, William Seymour, Giles Cook, Samuel C. Williams, Allen T. Caperton, Albert G. Pendleton, A. A. Chapman, Charles J. Faulkner, William Lucas, Dennis Murphy, Andrew Hunter, Thomas Slous, James E. Stewart, Richard E. Byrd, Charles Blue, Jefferson T. Martin, Zachariah Jacob, John Knote, Thomas Gally, Benjamin H. Smith, William Smith,

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Samuel Price, George W. Summers, Joseph Johnson, John F. Snodgrass, Gideon D. Camden, Peter G. Van Winkle, William G. Brown, Waitman T. Willey, Edward J. Armstrong, James Neeson, Samuel L. Hayes, Joseph Smith, John S. Carlile, Thomas Bland, Elisha W. McComas, Henry J. Fisher, and James H. Ferguson.

One of these delegates, Joseph Johnson, of Harrison County, was the only man up to that time ever chosen Governor from the district west of the Alleghanies; and in the three-quarters of a century since the adoption of Virginia's first constitution, no man from west of the Alleghanies had ever been sent to the United States Senate; and only one had been elected from the country west of the Blue Ridge. Eastern property had out-voted western men. Still the people west of the mountains sought their remedy in a new constitution, just as they had sought in vain nearly a generation before.

The constitutional convention met and organized for work. The delegates from the eastern part of the State at once showed their hand. They insisted from the start that there should be a property qualification for suffrage. This was the chief point against which the western people had been so long contending, and the members from west of the Alleghanies were there to resist such a provision in the new constitution and to fight it to the last. Lines were drawn upon this issue. The contending forces were at once arrayed for the fight. It was seen that the western members and the members who took sides with them were not in as hopeless a minority as they had been in the convention of 1860. Still they were not so strong as to assure victory, and the battle was to be long and hard-fought. If there was one man among the western members more conspicuous as a leader than the others, that man was Waitman T. Willey, of Monongalia County. An unswerving advocate of liberty in its widest interpretation, and with an uncompromising hatred of tyranny and oppression, he had prepared himself to fight in the front when the question of restriction of suffrage should come up. The eastern members forced the issue, and he met it. He denied that property is the true source of political power; but, rather, that the true source should be sought in wisdom, virtue, patriotism; and that wealth, while not bad in itself, frequently becomes a source of political weakness. The rights of persons are above the rights of property. Mr. Scott, a delegate from Fauquier County, declared that this movement by the western members was simply an effort to get their hands on the pocket books of the wealthy east. Mr. Willey repelled this impeachment of the integrity of the west. Other members in sympathy with the property qualification took up the cue and the assault upon the motives of the people of the west became severe and unjust. But the members from that part of the State defended the honor of its people with a vigor and a success which defeated the property qualification in the constitution.

It was not silenced however. It was put forward and carried in another form, by a proviso that members of the Assembly and Senate should be elected on an arbitrary basis until the year 1865, and at that time the question should be submitted to a vote of the people whether their delegates in the Legislature should be apportioned on what was called the "white basis" or the "mixed basis." The first provided that members of the Legislature should be apportioned according to the number of white inhabitants; the second, that they should be apportioned according to both property and inhabitants. The eastern members believed that in 1865 the vote of

the State would favor the mixed basis, and thus the property qualification would again be in force, although not in exactly the same form as before.

The proceedings of the convention had not advanced far when it became apparent that a sentiment in that body was in favor of electing many or all of the County and State officers. The sentiment favoring electing judges was particularly strong. Prior to that time the judges in Virginia had been chosen by the Legislature or appointed by the Governor, who was a creature of the Legislature. The members from Western Virginia, under the leadership of Mr. Willey, were in favor of electing the judges. It was more in conformity with the principles of republican government that the power which selected the makers of laws should also select the interpreters of those laws, and also those whose duty it is to execute the laws. The power of the people was thus increased, and with increase of power there was an increase also in their responsibility. Both are wholesome stimulants for the citizens of a commonwealth who are rising to new ideas and higher principles. The constitution of 1850 is remarkable for the general advance embodied in it. The experience of nearly half a century has shown that many improvements could be made, but at the time it was adopted its landmarks were set on higher ground. But as yet the idea that the State is the greatest beneficiary from the education of the people, and that it is the duty of the State to provide free schools for this purpose, had not gained sufficient footing to secure so much as an expression in its favor in the constitution of 1850.

The work of the convention was completed, and at an election held for the purpose in 1852 it was ratified and became the foundation for State government in Virginia. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1776 and adopted without change as a preamble or introduction to the constitution of 1830, was amended in several particulars and prefixed to the constitution of 1850. The constitution of 1850 required voting by *viva voce*, without exception. That of 1850 made an exception in favor of deaf and dumb persons. But for all other persons the ballot was forbidden. The property qualification for suffrage was not placed in the constitution. Although a provision was made to foist a property clause on the State to take effect in 1865, the great and unexpected change made by the Civil War before the year 1865 rendered this provision of no force. The leading features of the "mixed basis" and "white basis," as contemplated by the constitution, were: In 1865 the people, by vote, were to decide whether the members of the State Senate and Lower House should be apportioned in accordance with the number of voters, without regard to property, or whether, in such apportionment, property should be represented. The former was called the white basis or suffrage basis; the latter mixed basis. Under the mixed basis the apportionment would be based on a ratio of the white inhabitants and of the amount of State taxes paid. Provision was made for the apportionment of Senators on one basis and members of the Lower House on the other, if the voters should so decide. The members of the convention from West Virginia did not like the mixed basis, but the clause making the provision for it went into the constitution in spite of them. They feared that the populous and wealthy eastern counties would out-vote the counties beyond the Alleghenies and fasten the mixed basis upon the whole State. But West Virginia had separated from the old State before 1865 and never voted on that measure. There was a clause which went so far as to provide that the

members of the Senate might be apportioned solely on the basis of taxation, if the people so decided by vote.

Under the constitution free negroes were not permitted to reside in Virginia unless free at the time the constitution went into effect. Slaves thereafter manumitted forfeited their freedom by remaining twelve months in the State. Provision was made for enslaving them again.

For the first time in the history of the State the Governor was to be elected by the people. He had before been appointed by the Legislature. County officers, clerks, sheriff, prosecuting attorney and surveyor, were now to be elected by the people. The county court, composed of not less than three or more than five justices of the peace, held sessions monthly, and had enlarged jurisdiction. This arrangement was not consistent with the advance made in other branches of County and State government as provided for in the constitution. That county court was not satisfactory, and even after West Virginia became a State, it did not at first rid itself of the tribunal which had out-lived its usefulness. But after a number of years a satisfactory change was made by the new State. Under Virginia's constitution of 1850 the Auditor, Treasurer and Secretary were selected by the Legislature.

The first constitution of West Virginia was a growth rather than a creation by a body of men in one convention. The history of that constitution is a part of the history of the causes leading up to and the events attending the creation of a new State from the counties in the western part of Virginia, which had refused to follow the old State when it seceded from the Union. Elsewhere in this volume will be found a narrative of the acts by which the new State was formed. The present chapter will consider only those movements and events directly related to the first constitution.

The efforts of the Northern States to keep slavery from spreading to new territory, and the attempts of the South to introduce it into the West; the passage of laws by the Northern States by which they refused to deliver runaway slaves to their masters; decisions of courts in conflict with the wishes of one or the other of the great parties to the controversy; and other acts or doctrines favorable to one or the other, all entered into the presidential campaign of 1860 and gave that contest a bitterness unknown before or since in the history of American politics. For many years the South had been able to carry its points by the ballot-box or by statesmanship, but in 1860 the power was slipping away, and the North was in the ascendancy with its doctrines of no further extension of slavery. There were four candidates in the field, and the Republicans elected Abraham Lincoln. Had the Southern States accepted the result, acquiesced in the limitation of slavery within those States wherein it already had an undisputed foothold, the Civil War would not have occurred at that time, and perhaps never. Slavery would have continued years longer. But the rashness of the Southern States hastened the crisis, and in its result slavery was stamped out. South Carolina led the revolt by a resolution December 20, 1860, by which that State seceded from the Union. Other Southern States followed, formed "The Confederate States of America," and elected Jefferson Davis President.

Virginia, as a State, went with the South, but the people of the western part, when confronted with the momentous question, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," chose to remain citizens of the United States. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, called an extra session of the Legislature to

meet January 7, 1861, to consider public affairs. The Legislature passed a bill calling a convention of the people of Virginia, whose delegates were to be elected February 4, to meet in Richmond, February 18, 1861. A substitute for this bill, offered in the Lower House of the Legislature, providing that a vote of the people of the State should be taken on the question of calling the convention, was defeated. The convention was thus convened without the consent of the people, a thing which had never before been done in Virginia.

Delegates were chosen for Western Virginia. They were nearly all opposed to secession and worked to defeat it in the convention. Finding their efforts in vain, they returned home, some of them escaping many dangers and overcoming much difficulty on the way. The action of the Virginia Convention was kept secret for some time, while State troops and troops from other States were seizing United States arsenals and other government property in Virginia. But when the delegates returned to their homes in Western Virginia with the news that Virginia had joined the Southern Confederacy there was much excitement and a widespread determination among the people not to be transferred to the Confederacy. Meetings were held, delegates were chosen to a convention in Wheeling to meet June 11 for the purpose of re-organizing the government of Virginia.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the State of Virginia was placed, part in and part out of the Southern Confederacy, the constitution of 1850 did not apply to the case, and certainly did not authorize the re-organization of the State Government in the manner in which it was about to be done. No constitution and no statute had ever been framed to meet such an emergency. The proceeding undertaken by the Wheeling convention was authorized by no written law, and so far as the statutes of the State contemplated such a condition, they forbade it. But, as the gold which sanctified the Temple was greater than the Temple, so men who make the law are greater than the law. The principle is dangerous when acted upon by bad men, but patriots may, in a crisis which admits of no delay, be a law unto themselves. The people of Western Virginia saw the storm, saw the only salvation, and with promptness they seized the helm and made for the harbor.

The constitution of Virginia did not apply. The Wheeling Convention passed an ordinance for the government of the re-organized State. This ordinance could scarcely be called a constitution, yet it was a good temporary substitute for one. It authorised the convention to appoint a Governor and Lieutenant Governor to serve until their successors were elected and qualified. They were to administer the existing laws of Virginia. The General Assembly was called to meet in Wheeling, where it was to provide for the election of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor. The capital of Virginia was thus changed from Richmond to Wheeling, so far as that convention could change it. The Senators and Assemblymen who had been chosen at the preceding election were to constitute the Legislature. A Council of Five was appointed by the convention to assist the Governor in the discharge of his duties. An allusion to the State Constitution, made in this ordinance, shows that the convention considered the Virginia Constitution of 1850 still in force, so far as it was applicable to the changed conditions. There was no general and immediate change of county and district officers provided for, but an oath was required of them that they would support the Constitution of the United States. Provision was made for remov-

ing from office such as refused to take the oath, and for appointing others in their stead.

Under and by virtue of this ordinance the convention elected Francis H. Pierpont Governor of Virginia, Daniel Polkay Lieutenant Governor, and James S. Wheat Attorney General. Provision having been made by the General Assembly which met in Wheeling for an election of delegates to frame a constitution for the State of West Virginia, provided a vote of the people should be in favor of a new State, and the election having shown that a new State was desired, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention assembled in Wheeling November 26, 1861. The purpose at first had not been to form a new State, but to re-organize and administer the government of Virginia. But the sentiment in favor of a new State was strong, and resulted in the assembling of a convention to frame a constitution. The list of delegates were, Gordon Batelle, Ohio County; Richard L. Brooks, Upshur; James H. Brown, Kanawha; John J. Brown, Preston; John Boggs, Pendleton; W. W. Brumfield, Wayne; E. H. Caldwell, Marshall; Thomas R. Carakadon, Hampshire; James S. Cassady, Fayette; H. D. Chapman, Roane; Richard M. Cooke, Mercer; Henry Dering, Monongalia; John A. Dille, Preston; Ahijah Dolly, Hardy; D. W. Gibson, Pocahontas; S. F. Griffith, Mason; Stephen M. Hansley, Raleigh; Robert Hogar, Boone; Ephraim B. Hall, Marion; John Hall, Mason; Thomas W. Harrison, Harrison; Hiram Hammond, Marion; James Hervey, Brooke; J. P. Hohack, McDowell; Joseph Hushh, Pleasant; Robert Irvine, Lewis; Daniel Lamb, Ohio; R. W. Lanck, Wetzel; E. S. Mahon, Jackson; A. W. Mann, Greenbrier; John R. McCutchen, Nicholas; Dudley S. Montague, Putnam; Emmett J. O'Brien, Barbour; Granville Parker, Cabell; James W. Parsons, Tucker; J. W. Paxton, Ohio; David S. Pinnell, Upshur; Joseph S. Pomeroy, Hancock; John M. Powell, Harrison; Joh Robinson, Calhoun; A. F. Ross, Ohio; Lewis Ruffner, Kanawha; Edward W. Ryan, Fayette; George W. Sheets, Hampshire; Josiah Simmons, Randolph; Harmon Sinsel, Taylor; Benjamin H. Smith, Logan; Abraham D. Soper, Tyler; Benjamin L. Stephenson, Clay; William E. Stevenson, Wood; Benjamin F. Stewart, Wirt; Chapman J. Stewart, Doddridge; G. F. Taylor, Braxton; M. Titchencoll, Marion; Thomas H. Trainer, Marshall; Peter G. Van Winkle, Wood; William Walker, Wyoming; William W. Warden, Gilmer; Joseph S. Wheat, Morgan; Waitman T. Willey, Monongalia; A. J. Wilson, Ritchie; Samuel Young, Pocahontas.

There were two sessions of this convention, the first in the latter part of 1861, the second beginning February 12, 1862. The constitution was completed at the first session, as was supposed, but when the question of admitting the State into the Union was before Congress that body required a change of one section regarding slavery, and the convention was re-convened and made the necessary change.

When the convention assembled November 15, 1861, it set about its task. The first intention was to name the new State Kanawha, but there being objections to this, the name of Augusta was suggested; then Alleghany, Western Virginia, and finally the name West Virginia was chosen. Selecting a name for the new State was not the most difficult matter before the convention. Very soon the question of slavery came up. The sentiment against that institution was not strong enough to exclude it from the State. No doubt a majority of the people would have voted to exclude it, but there was a strong element not yet ready to dispense with slavery, and a division on that question was undesirable at that time. Accordingly, the

constitution dismissed the slavery question with the provision that no slave should be brought into the State nor free negroes come into the State after the adoption of the constitution. Before the constitution was submitted to a vote of the people it was changed to provide for the emancipation of slaves.

The new constitution had a provision which was never contained in the constitutions of Virginia; it affirmed that West Virginia shall remain a member of the United States. When this constitution was framed it did not regard Hampshire, Hardy, Pendleton and Morgan as parts of the State, but provided that they might become parts of West Virginia if they voted in favor of adopting the constitution. They so voted and thus came into the State. The same provision was made in regard to Frederick County, but it chose to remain a portion of Virginia. It was declared that there should be freedom of the press and of speech, and the law of libel was given a liberal interpretation and was rendered powerless to curtail the freedom of the press. It was provided that in suits of libel the truth could be given in evidence, and if it appeared that the matter charged as libelous was true, and was published with good intentions, the judgement should be for the defendant in the suit. The days of *viva voce* voting were past. The constitution provided that all voting should be by ballot. The Legislature was required to meet every year.

A clause was inserted declaring that no person who had aided or abetted the Southern Confederacy should become citizens of the State unless such persons had subsequently volunteered in the army or the navy of the United States. This measure seems harsh when viewed from after years, when the passions kindled by the Civil War have cooled and the prejudice and hatred have become things of the past. It must be remembered that the constitution came into existence during the war. The better judgment of the people at a later day struck out that clause. But at the worst the measure was only one of retaliation, in remembrance of the tyranny recently shown within this State toward loyal citizens and office-holders by sympathizers of the Southern Confederacy. The overbearing spirit of the politicians of Richmond found its echo west of the Alleghanies. Horace Greeley had been deterred from delivering a lecture in Wheeling on the issues of the day, because his lecture contained references to the slavery question. In Ohio County, at that time, those who opposed slavery were in the majority, but not in power. There were not fifty slave-holders in the county. Horace Greeley was indicted in Harrison County because he had caused the Tribune, his newspaper, to be circulated there. The agent of the Tribune fled from the State to escape arrest. Postmasters, acting, as they claimed, under the laws of Virginia, refused to deliver to subscribers such papers as the New York Tribune and the New York Christian Advocate. A Baptist minister who had taught colored children in Sunday school was for that act ostracized and he left Wheeling. Newsdealers in Wheeling were afraid to keep on their shelves a statistical hook written by a North Carolinian, because it treated of slavery in its economic aspect. Dealers were threatened with indictment if they handled the book. Cassius Clay, of Kentucky, was threatened with violence for coming to Wheeling to deliver a lecture which he had delivered in his own State. The newspapers of Richmond reproached Wheeling for permitting such a paper as the *Intelligencer* to be published there.

These instances of tyranny from Southern sympathizers are given, not so much for their value as simple history as to show the circumstances un-

der which West Virginia's first constitution was made, and to give an insight into the partisan feeling which led to the insertion of the clause disfranchising those who took part against the United States. Those who upheld the Union had in the meantime come into power, and in turn had become the oppressors. Retaliation is never right as an abstract proposition and seldom best as a political measure. An act of injustice should not be made a precedent or an excuse for a wrong perpetrated upon the authors of the unjust act. Time has done its part in committing to oblivion the hatred and the wrong which grew out of the Civil War. Under West Virginia's present constitution no man has lesser or greater political powers because he wore the blue or the grey.

Representation in the State Senate and House of Delegates was in proportion to the number of people. The question of the "white basis" or the "mixed basis," as contained in the Virginia constitution of 1850, no longer troubled West Virginia. Suffrage was extended until the people elected their officers, State, County and District, including all judges.

The constitution provided for free schools, and authorized the setting apart of an irreducible fund for that purpose. The fund is derived from the sale of delinquent lands; from grants and devises, the proceeds of estates of persons who die without will or heirs; money paid for exemption from military duty; such sums as the Legislature may appropriate, and from other sources. This is invested in United States or State securities, and the interest is annually appropriated to the support of the schools. The principal must not be expended.

The constitution was submitted to the people for ratification in April, 1863, and the vote in favor of it was 18,812, and against it 514. Jefferson and Berkeley Counties did not vote. They had not been represented in the convention which formed the constitution. With the close of the war Virginia claimed them and West Virginia claimed them. The matter was finally settled by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1870, in favor of West Virginia. It was at one time considered that the counties of Northampton and Accomack on the eastern shore of Virginia belonged to the new State of West Virginia, because they had sent delegates to the Wheeling Convention for the reorganization of the State government. It was once proposed that these two counties be traded to Maryland in exchange for the two western counties in that State which were to be added to West Virginia, but the trade was not consummated.

Under the constitution of 1863 the State of West Virginia was governed nine years, and there was general prosperity. But experience demonstrated that many of the provisions of the constitution were not perfect. Amendments and improvements were suggested from time to time, and there gradually grew up a strong sentiment in favor of a new constitution. On February 21, 1871, a call was issued for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The election was held in August of that year, and in January, 1872, the delegates met in Charleston and began the work. They completed it in a little less than three months.

The following delegates were elected by the various senatorial and assembly districts of the State: Brooke County, Alexander Campbell, William K. Pendleton; Boone, William D. Pate; Braxton, Homer A. Holt; Berkeley, Andrew W. McCleary, C. J. Faulkner, John Blair Hoge; Barbour, Samuel Woods, J. N. B. Crim; Clay, B. W. Byrne; Calhoun, Lemuel Stump; Cabell, Evermont Ward, Thomas Thornburg; Doddridge, Jeptha F. Ran-

dolph; Fayette, Hudson M. Dickinson; Greenbrier, Henry M. Mathews, Samuel Price; Harrison, Benjamin Wilson, Beverly H. Lurty, John Bassett; Hampshire, J. D. Armstrong, Alexander Monroe; Hardy, Thomas Maclin; Hancock, John H. Atkinson; Jefferson, William H. Travys, Logan Osborne, William A. Morgan; Jackson, Thomas R. Park; Kanawha, John A. Warr, Edward R. Knight, Nicholas Fitzhugh; Lewis, Mathew Edmiston, Blackwell Jackson; Logan, M. A. Staton; Morgan, Lewis Allen; Monongalia, Waitman T. Willey, Joseph Snider, J. Marshall Hagans; Marion, U. N. Arnett, Alpheus F. Haymond, Fountain Smith; Mason, Charles B. Waggoner, Alonso Cushing; Mercer, Isaiah Bee, James Calfee; Mineral, John A. Robinson, John T. Pearce; Monroe, James M. Byrnsides, William Haynes; Marshall, James M. Pipes, J. W. Gallaher, Hanson Criswell; Ohio, George O. Davenport, William W. Miller, A. J. Pownell, James S. Wheat; Putnam, John J. Thompson; Pendleton, Charles D. Boggs; Pocahontas, George H. Moffett; Preston, William G. Brown, Charles Kantner; Pleasants, W. G. H. Care, Hoane, Thomas Ferrell; Ritchie, Jacob P. Strickler; Randolph, J. F. Harding; Raleigh, William Price, William McCreery; Taylor, A. H. Thayer, Benjamin F. Martin; Tyler, Daniel D. Johnson, David S. Pugh; Upshur, D. D. T. Farnsworth; Wirt, D. A. Roberts, David H. Leonard; Wayne, Charles W. Ferguson; Wetzel, Septimus Hall; Wood, James M. Jackson, Osney Johnson.

The new constitution of West Virginia enters much more fully into the ways and means of government than any other constitution Virginia or West Virginia had known. It leaves less for the courts to interpret and decide than any of the former constitutions. The details are elaborately worked out, and the powers and duties of the three departments of State government, the Legislative, Judicial and Executive, are stated in so precise terms that there can be little ground for controversy as to what the constitution means. The terms of the State officers were increased to four years, and the Legislature's sessions were changed from yearly to once in two years. A marked change in the tone of the constitution regarding persons who took part in the Civil War against the government is noticeable. Not only is the clause in the former constitution disfranchising those who took part in the Rebellion not found in the new constitution, but in its stead is a clause which repudiates, in express terms, the sentiment on this subject in the former constitution. It is stated that "political tests requiring persons, as a pre-requisite to the enjoyment of their civil and political rights, to purge themselves, by their own oaths, of past alleged offenses, are repugnant to the principles of free government, and are cruel and oppressive." The ex-Confederates and those who sympathized with and assisted them in their war against the United States could have been as effectively restored to their rights by a simple clause to that effect as by the one employed, which passes judgment upon a part of the former constitution. The language on this subject in the new constitution may, therefore, be taken as the matured judgment and as an expression of the purer conception of justice by the people of West Virginia when the passions of the war had subsided, and when years had given time for reflection. It is provided, also, that no person who aided or participated in the Rebellion shall be liable to any proceedings, civil or criminal, for any act done by him in accordance with the rules of civilized warfare. It was provided in the constitution of Virginia that ministers and priests should not be eligible to seats in the Legislature. West Virginia's new constitution broke down the bar-

rier against a worthy and law-abiding class of citizens. It is provided that "all men shall be free to profess, and, by argument, to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and the same shall in no wise affect, diminish or enlarge their civil capacities."

A change was made in the matter of investing the State School Fund. The first constitution authorized its investment in United States or West Virginia State securities only. The new constitution provided that it might be invested in other solvent securities, provided United States or this State's securities cannot be had. The provision for courts did not meet general approval as left by the constitution, and this dissatisfaction at length led to an amendment which was voted upon October 12, 1880, and was ratified by a vote of 57,941 for, to 34,270 against. It provides that the Supreme Court of Appeals shall consist of four judges who shall hold office twelve years, and they and all other judges and justices in the State shall be elected by the people. There shall be thirteen circuit judges, and they must hold at least three terms of court in every county of the State each year. Their tenure of office is eight years. The county court was remodeled. It no longer consists of justices of the peace, nor is its power as large as formerly. It is composed of three commissioners whose term of office is six years. Four regular terms of court are held yearly. The powers and duties of the justices of the peace are clearly defined. No county shall have fewer than three justices nor more than twenty. Each county is divided into districts, not fewer than three nor more than ten in number. Each district has one justice, and if its population is more than twelve hundred it is entitled to two. They hold office four years.

There is a provision in the constitution that any county may change its county court if a majority of the electors vote to do so, after the forms laid down by law have been complied with. It is left to the people, in such a case, to decide what shall be the nature of the tribunal which takes the place of the court of commissioners.

The growth of the idea of liberty and civil government in a century, as expressed in the Bill of Rights and the Virginia Constitution of 1776, and as embodied in the subsequent constitutions of 1830, 1830, 1863 and 1872, shows that the most sanguine expectations of the statesmen of 1776 have been realized and surpassed in the present time. The right of suffrage has been extended beyond anything dreamed of a century ago, and it has been demonstrated that the people are capable of understanding and enjoying their enlarged liberty. The authors of Virginia's first constitution believed that it was unwise to entrust the masses with the powers of government. Therefore the chief part taken by the people in their own government was in the selection of their Legislature. All other State, County and District offices were filled by appointments or by elections by the Legislature. Limited as was the exercise of suffrage, it was still further restricted by a property qualification which disfranchised a large portion of the people. Yet this liberty was so great in comparison with that enjoyed while under England's colonial government that the people were satisfied for a long time. But finally they demanded enlarged rights and obtained them. When they at length realized that they governed themselves, and were not governed by others, they speedily advanced in the science of government. The property qualification was abolished. The doctrine that wealth is the true source of political power was relegated to the past. From that it was but a step for the people to exercise a right which they had long suffered

others to hold—that of electing all their officers. At first they did not elect their own governor, and as late as 1850 they acquiesced, though somewhat reluctantly, in the doctrine that they could not be trusted to elect their own judges. But they have thrown all this aside now, and their officers are of their own selection; and no man, because he is poor, if capable of self-support, is denied an equal voice in government with that exercised by the most wealthy. Men, not wealth; intelligence, not force, are the true sources of our political power.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

Although West Virginia at the time was a part of Virginia, it refused to go with the majority of the people of that State in seceding from the United States and joining the Southern Confederacy. The circumstances attending that refusal constitute an important chapter in the history of West Virginia. Elsewhere in this book, in speaking of the constitution of this and the mother State, reference is made to the differences in sentiment and interests between the people west of the Alleghanies and those east of that range. The Ordinance of Secession was the rock upon which Virginia was broken in twain. It was the occasion of the west's separating from the east. The territory which ought to have been a separate State at the time Kentucky became one seized the opportunity of severing the political ties which had long bound it to the Old Dominion. After the war Virginia invited the new State to reunite with it, but a polite reply was sent that West Virginia preferred to retain its statehood. The sentiment in favor of separation did not spring up at once. It had been growing for three-quarters of a century. Before the close of the Revolutionary War the subject had attracted such attention that a report on the subject was made by a committee in Congress. But many years before that time a movement for a new State west of the Alleghanies had been inaugurated by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and others, some of whom were interested in land on the Kanawha and elsewhere. The new State was to be named Vandalia, and the capital was to be at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The movement for a new State really began there, and never afterwards slept; and finally, in 1863, it was accomplished, after no less than ninety-three years of agitation.

The Legislature of Virginia met in extra session January 7, 1861. The struggle had begun. The Confederates had not yet opened their batteries on Fort Sumpter, but the South had plainly spoken its defiance. The Southern Confederacy was forming. The elements of resistance were getting together. The storm of war was about to break upon the country. States farther South had seceded or had decided to do so. Virginia had not yet decided. Its people were divided. The State hesitated. If it joined the Confederacy it would be the battle ground in the most gigantic war the world ever saw. It was the gateway by which the armies of the North would invade the South. Some affected to believe, perhaps some did believe, that there would be no war; that the South would not be invaded; that the North would not go beyond argument. But the people of better judgment foresaw the storm and they knew where it would break. The result no man foresaw. Many hoped, many doubted, but at that time

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no man saw what four years would bring forth. Thus Virginia hastened long before she cast her fortunes with the States already organized to oppose the government. When she took the fatal step; when she fought as only the brave can fight; when she was crushed by weight rather than vanquished, she accepted the result and emerged from the smoke of battle still great; and like Carthage of old, her splendor seemed only the more conspicuous by the desolation which war had brought.

The Virginia Legislature called a convention to meet at Richmond February 18, 1861. The time was short, but the crisis was at hand. The fire was kindling. Meetings were being held in all the eastern part of the State, and the people were nearly unanimous in their demand that the State join the Confederacy. At least few opposed this demand, but at that time it is probable that one-half of the people of the State opposed secession. The eastern part was in favor of it. West of the Alleghany Mountains the case was different. The mass of the people did not at once grasp the situation. They knew the signs of the times were strange; that currents were drifting to a center; but that war was at hand of gigantic magnitude, and that the State of Virginia was "choosing that day whom she would serve," were not clearly understood at the outset. But, as the great truth dawned and as its lurid light became brighter, West Virginia was not slow in choosing whom she would serve. The people assembled in their towns and a number of meetings were held even before the convening of the special session of the Legislature, and there was but one sentiment expressed and that was loyalty to the government. Preston county held the first meeting, November 12, 1860; Harrison County followed the twenty-sixth of the same month two days later the people of Monongalia assembled to discuss and take measures; a similar gathering took place in Taylor County, December 4, and another in Wheeling ten days later; and on the seventh of the January following there was a meeting in Mason County.

On January 21 the Virginia Legislature declared by resolution that, unless the differences between the two sections of the country could be reconciled, it was Virginia's duty to join the Confederacy. That resolution went side by side with the call for an election of delegates to the Richmond Convention, which was to "take measures." The election was held February 4, 1861, and nine days later the memorable convention assembled. Little time had been given for a campaign. Western Virginia sent men who were the peers of any from the eastern part of the State. The following delegates were chosen from the territory now forming West Virginia: Barbour County, Samuel Woods; Braxton and Nicholas, B. W. Byrnes; Berkeley, Edmund Pendleton and Allen C. Hammond; Brooke, Campbell Town; Cabell, William McComas; Doddridge and Tyler, Chapman J. Stuart; Fayette and Raleigh, Henry L. Gillespie; Greenbrier, Samuel Price; Gilmer and Wirt, C. B. Conrad; Hampshire, David Pugh and Edmund M. Armstrong; Hancock, George M. Porter; Harrison, John S. Carlile and Benjamin Wilson; Hardy, Thomas Mashin; Jackson and Roane, Franklin P. Turner; Jefferson, Alfred M. Barbour and Logan Oshurn; Kanawha, Spicer Patrick and George W. Summers; Lewis, Caleb Boggess; Logan, Boone and Wayne; Marion, Ephraim B. Hall and Alpheus S. Haymond; Marshall, James Burley; Mason, James H. Crouch; Mercer, Napoleon B. French; Monongalia, Waitman T. Willey and Marshall M. Dent, Monroe, John Echols and Allen T. Caperton; Morgan, Johnson Orrick; Ohio, Chester D. Hubbard and Sherard Clemens; Pocahontas, Paul McNeil; Preston,

William G. Brown and James C. McGrew; Putnam, James W. Hoge; Ritchie; Cyrus Hall; Randolph and Tucker, J. N. Hughes; Taylor, John S. Burdette; Upshur, George W. Berlin; Wetzel, L. S. Hall; Wood, General John J. Jackson; Wayne, Burwell Sparlock.

When the convention met it was doubtful if a majority were in favor of Secession. At any rate the leaders in that movement, who had caused the convention to be called for that express purpose, appeared afraid to push the question to a vote, and from that day began the work which ultimately succeeded in winning over enough delegates, who at first were opposed to Secession, to carry the State into the Confederacy.

There were forty-six delegates from the counties now forming West Virginia. Nine of these voted for the Ordinance of Secession, seven were absent, one was excused, and twenty-nine voted against it. The principal leaders among the West Virginia delegates who opposed Secession were J. C. McGrew, of Preston County; George W. Summers, of Kanawha County; General John J. Jackson, of Wood County; Chester D. Hubbard, of Ohio County, and Waitman T. Willey, of Monongalia County. Willey was the leader of the leaders. He employed all the eloquence of which he was master, and all the reason and logic he could command to check the rush into what he clearly saw was disaster. No man of feeble courage could have taken the stand which he took in that convention. The agents from the States which had already seceded were in Richmond urging the people to Secession. The convention held out for a month against the clamor, and so fierce became the populace that delegates who opposed Secession were threatened with personal assault and were in danger of assassination. The peril and the pressure induced many delegates to go over to the Confederacy. But the majority held out against Secession. In the front was General John J. Jackson, one of West Virginia's most venerable citizens. He was of the material which never turns aside from danger. A cousin of Stonewall Jackson, he had seen active service in the field before Stonewall was born. He had fought the Seminoles in Florida, and had been a member of General Andrew Jackson's staff. He had been intrusted by the Government with important and dangerous duties before he was old enough to vote. He had traversed the wilderness on horseback and alone between Florida and Kentucky, performing in this manner a circuitous journey of three thousand miles, much of it among the camps and over the hunting grounds of treacherous Indians. Inured to dangers and accustomed to peril, he was not the man to flinch or give ground. He stood up for the Union; spoke for it; urged the convention to pause on the brink of the abyss before taking the leap. Another determined worker in the famous convention was Judge G. W. Summers, of Charleston. He was in the city of Washington attending a "Peace Conference" when he received news that the people of Kanawha County had elected him a delegate to the Richmond Convention. He hurried to Richmond and opposed with all his powers the Ordinance of Secession. A speech which he delivered against that measure has been pronounced the most powerful heard in the convention.

On March 2 Mr. Willey made a remarkable speech in the convention. He announced that his purpose was not to reply to the arguments of the disunionists, but to defend the right of free speech which Richmond, out of the halls of the convention and in, was trying to stifle by threats and derision. He warned the people that when free speech is silenced liberty is no longer a reality, but a mere mockery. He then took up the S-

tion, although he had not intended to do so when he began speaking, and he presented in so forcible a manner the arguments against Secession that he made a profound impression upon the convention. During the whole of that month the Secessionists were unable to carry their measure through. But when Fort Sumter was fired on, and when the President of the United States called for 75,000 volunteers, the Ordinance of Secession passed, April 17, 1861.

The next day, April 18, a number of delegates from Western Virginia declared that they would not abide by the action of the convention. Amid the roar of Richmond run mad, they began to consult among themselves what course to pursue. On April 20 several of the West Virginians met in a bed-room of the Powhatan hotel and decided that nothing more could be done by them at Richmond to hinder or defeat the Secession movement. They agreed to return home and urge their constituents to vote against the Ordinance at the election set for May 24. They began to depart for their homes. Some had gotten safely out of Richmond and beyond the reach of the Confederates before it became known that the western delegates were leaving. Others were still in Richmond, and a plan was formed to keep them prisoners in the city—not in jail—but they were required to obtain passes from the Governor before leaving the city. It was correctly surmised that the haste shown by these delegates in taking their departure was due to their determination to stir up opposition to the Ordinance of Secession in the western part of the State. But when it was learned that most of the western delegates had already left Richmond it was deemed unwise to detain the few who yet remained, and they were permitted to depart, which they did without loss of time.

Before the people knew that an Ordinance of Secession had passed, the convention began to levy war upon the United States. Before the seal of secession had been removed from the proceedings of that body, large appropriations for military purposes had been made. Officers were appointed; troops were armed; forts and arsenals belonging to the Government had been seized. The arsenal at Harper's Ferry and that at Norfolk had fallen before attacks of Virginia troops before the people of that State knew that they were no longer regarded as citizens of the United States. The convention still in secret session, without the knowledge or consent of the people of Virginia, had annexed that State to the Southern Confederacy. It was all done with the presumption that the people of the State would sustain the Ordinance of Secession when they had learned of its existence and when they were given an opportunity to vote upon it. The election came May 24, 1861; and before that day there were thirty thousand soldiers in the State east of the Alleghanies, and troops had been pushed across the mountains into Western Virginia. The majority of votes cast in the State were in favor of ratifying the Ordinance of Secession; but West Virginia voted against it. Eastern Virginia was carried by storm. The excitement was intense. The cry was for war, if any attempt should be made to hinder Virginia's going into the Southern Confederacy. Many men whose sober judgment was opposed to Secession, were swept into it by their surroundings.

CHAPTER XIII.

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THE RE-ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT.

The officers and visible government of Virginia abdicated when they joined the Southern Confederacy. The people retained and resumed their sovereignty after it had been abdicated by their regularly constituted authorities. This right belongs to the people and can not be taken from them, but by their own disowning. When he comes along like the sovereignty in whose shape it came to the people. When Virginia's public officials seceded from the United States and joined the Southern Confederacy they carried with them their individual persons and nothing more. The people of the State were deprived of many of the rights of self government, but their government was left, for the time being, without officers to execute it and give it form. In brief, the people of Virginia had no government, but had a right to a government, and they proceeded to create one by choosing others to take the place of those who had abdicated. This is all there was in the reorganization of the government of Virginia, and it was done by citizens of the United States, proceeding under that clause in the Federal Constitution which declares "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government."

The government of Virginia was reorganized; the State of West Virginia was created, and nothing was done in violation of the strictest letter and spirit of the United States Constitution. The steps were as follows, stand mainly here, but more in detail elsewhere in this book. The loyal people of Virginia retained and resumed their sovereignty and reorganized their government. This government, through its legislature, gave its consent for the creation of West Virginia from a part of Virginia's territory. Delegates chosen by the people of the proposed new State prepared a constitution. The people of the proposed new State adopted this constitution. Congress admitted the State. The President issued a proclamation declaring West Virginia to be one of the United States. This State came into the Union in the same manner and by the same process and on the same terms as all other states. The details of the reorganization of the Virginia State government will have to set forth more in detail.

When Virginia passed the Ordinance of Secession the majority now forming West Virginia voted to withdraw in that measure. The vote on the settlement in West Virginia was about half to one against it, or forty thousand against four thousand. In view of the country there were many reasons to say against Secession. The sentiment was very strong, and very bad shape in the form of mass meetings, which were largely anti-slavery. When the delegates from West Virginia receded from the Secession

mond Convention and laid before their constituents the state of affairs there was an immediate movement having for its object the nullification of the Ordinance. Although the people of Western Virginia had long wanted a new State, and although a very general sentiment favored an immediate movement toward that end, yet a conservative course was pursued. Haste and rashness gave way to mature judgment, and the new State movement took a course strictly constitutional. The Virginia Government was first re-organized. That done, the Constitution of the United States provided a way for creating the new State, for when the re-organized government was recognized by the United States, and when a Legislature had been elected, that Legislature could give its consent to the formation of a new State from a portion of Virginia's territory, and the way was thereby provided for the accomplishment of the object.

On the day in which the Ordinance of Secession was passed, April 17, 1861, and before the people knew what had been done, a mass-meeting was held at Morgantown which adopted resolutions declaring that Western Virginia would remain in the Union. A division of the State was suggested in case the eastern part should vote to join the Confederacy. A meeting in Wetzel County, April 22, voiced the same sentiment, and similar meetings were held in Taylor, Wood, Jackson, Mason and elsewhere. But the movement took definite form at a mass-meeting of the citizens of Harrison County, held at Clarksburg, April 22, which was attended by twelve hundred men. Not only did this meeting protest against the course which was hurrying Virginia out of the Union, but a line of action was suggested for checking the Secession movement, at least in the western part of the State. A call was sent out for a general meeting, to be held in Wheeling, May 11. The counties of Western Virginia were asked to elect their wisest men to this convention. Its objects were stated in general terms to be the discussion of ways and means for providing for the State's best interests in the crisis which had arrived.

Twenty-five counties responded, and the delegates who assembled in Wheeling on May 18 were representatives of the people, men who were determined that the portion of Virginia west of the Alleghany Mountains should not take part in a war against the Union without the consent and against the will of the people of the affected territory. Hampshire and Berkeley Counties, east of the Alleghanies, sent delegates. Many of the men who attended the convention were the best known west of the Alleghanies, and in the subsequent history of West Virginia their names have become household words. The roll of the convention was as follows:

Barbour County—Spencer Dayton, E. H. Manafee, J. H. Shuttleworth.
Berkeley County—J. W. Dailey, A. R. McQuillkin, J. S. Bowers.

Brooke County—M. Walker, Basael Wells, J. D. Nichols, Eli Green,
John G. Jacob, Joseph Gist, Robert Nichols, Adam Kuhn, David Hervey,
Campbell Tarr, Nathaniel Wells, J. R. Burgoine, James Archer, Jesse Edgington, R. L. Jones, James A. Campbell.

Doddridge County—S. S. Kinney, J. Cheverout, J. Smith, J. P. F. Randolph, J. A. Foley.

Hampshire County—George W. Broski, O. D. Downey, Dr. B. B. Shaw,
George W. Sheetz, George W. Rizer.

Hancock County—Thomas Anderson, W. C. Murray, William B. Freeman, George M. Porter, W. L. Crawford, J. P. Smith, J. C. Crawford, B. J. Smith, J. L. D.

James Stevenson, J. S. Pomeroy, R. Breneman, David Donahoe, D. S. Nicholson, Thayer Melvin, James H. Pugh, Ewing Turner, H. Farnsworth, James G. Marshall, Samuel Freeman, John Mahan, Joseph D. Allison, John H. Atkinson, Jonathan Allison, D. C. Pugh, A. Moore, William Brown, William Hewitt, David Jenkins.

Harrison County—W. P. Goff, R. F. Shuttleworth, William Duncan, L. Bowen, William E. Lyon, James Lynch, John S. Carlile, Thomas L. Moore, John J. Davis, S. S. Fleming, Felix S. Sturm.

Jackson County—G. L. Kennedy, J. V. Rowley, A. Flesher, C. M. Rice, D. Woodruff, George Leonard, J. F. Scott.

Lewis County—A. S. Withers, F. M. Chalfant, J. W. Hudson, P. M. Hale, J. Woofier, J. A. J. Lighthurn, W. L. Grant.

Marshall County—Thomas Wilson, Lot Enix, John Wilson, G. Hubbs, John Ritchie, J. W. Boner, J. Alley, S. B. Stidger, Asa Browning, Samuel Wilson, J. McCondell, A. Bonar, D. Price, D. Roberts, G. W. Evans, Thos. Dowler, R. Alexander, E. Conner, John Withers, Charles Snediker, Joseph McCombs, Alexander Kemple, J. S. Riggs, Alfred Gaines, V. P. Gorby, Nathan Fish, A. Francis, William Phillips, S. Ingram, J. Garvin, Dr. Marshallman, William Luke, William Baird, J. Winders, F. Clement, James Campbell, J. B. Hornbrook, John Parkinson, John H. Dickey, Thomas Morrissey, W. Alexander, John Laughlin, W. T. Head, J. S. Parriott, W. J. Purdy, H. C. Kemple, R. Swan, John Reynolds, J. Hornbrook, William McFarland, G. W. Evans, W. R. Kimmons, William Collins, R. C. Holliday, J. B. Morris, J. W. McCarriher, Joseph Turner, Hiram McMehen, E. H. Caldwell, James Garvin, L. Gardner, H. A. Francis, Thomas Dowler, John R. Morris, William Wasson, N. Wilson, Thomas Morgan, S. Dorsey, R. B. Hunter.

Monongalia County—Waitman T. Willey, William Lazier, James Evans, Leroy Kramer, W. E. Hanaway, Elisha Coombs, H. Derling, George McNeeley, H. N. Mackey, E. D. Fogle, J. T. M. Laskey, J. T. Hess, C. H. Burgess, John Bly, William Price, A. Brown, J. R. Boughner, W. H. Shaw, P. L. Rice, Joseph Jolliff, William Anderson, E. P. St. Clair, P. T. Lashley, Marshall M. Dent, Isaac Scott, Jacob Miller, D. B. Dorsey, Daniel White, N. C. Vandervort, A. Derranet, Amos S. Bowlsby, Joseph Snyder, J. A. Wiley, John McCarl, A. Garrison, E. B. Taggart, E. P. Finch.

Marion County—F. H. Pierpont, Jesse Shaw, Jacob Streams, Aaron Hawkins, James C. Beatty, William Beatty, J. C. Boeson, R. R. Brown, J. Holman, Thomas H. Buina, Hiram Haymond, H. Merryfield, Joshua Carter, G. W. Jolliff, John Chisler, Thomas Hough.

Mason County—Lemuel Harpold, W. E. Wotzel, Wyatt Willis, John Goodley, Joseph McMachir, William Harper, William Harpold, Samuel Davis, Daniel Polksley, J. N. Jones, Samuel Yeager, R. C. M. Lovell, Major Brown, John Greer, A. Stevens, W. C. Starr, Stephon Comstock, J. M. Phelps, Charles B. Waggener, Asa Brigham, David Rossin, B. J. Rollins, B. C. Sayre, Charles Bumgardner, E. B. Davis, William Hopkins, A. A. Rogers, John O. Butler, Timothy Russell, John Hall.

Ohio County—J. C. Orr, L. S. Delaplaine, J. R. Stifel, G. L. Crummer, A. Bedillion, Alfred Caldwell, John McClure, Andrew Wilson, George Forbes, Jacob Berger, John C. Hoffman, A. J. Woods, T. H. Logan, James S. Wheat, George W. Norton, N. H. Garrison, James Paul, J. M. Bleckel, Robert Grangie, George Bowers, John K. Botsford, L. D. Waitt, J. Hornbrook, S. Waterhouse, A. Handlin, J. W. Paxton, S. H. Woodward, C. D. Hubbard, Daniel Lamb, John Stiner, W. H. Curtis, A. H. Ross, A. H. Gull.

THE RE-ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT.

well, J. E. Hubbard, R. Buchanan, John Pierson, T. Witham, E. McCaslin, Pleasants County—Friend Cochran, James Williamson, Robert Parker, R. A. Cramer.

Preston County—R. C. Crooks, H. C. Hagans, W. H. King, James W. Brown, Summers McCrum, Charles Hooten, William P. Fortney, James A. Brown, G. H. Kidd, John Howard, D. A. Letzinger, W. B. Linn, W. J. Brown, Reuben Morris.

Ritchie County—D. Rexroad, J. P. Harris, N. Rexroad, A. S. Cole.

Roane County—Irwin C. Stump.

Taylor County—J. Means, J. M. Wilson, J. Kennedy, J. J. Warren, T. T. Monroe, G. R. Latham, B. Bailey, J. J. Allen, T. Cather, John S. Burdette.

Tyler County—Daniel Sweeney, V. Smith, W. B. Kerr, D. D. Johnson, J. C. Parker, William Pritchard, D. King, S. A. Hawkins, James M. Smith, J. H. Johnson, Isaac Davis.

Upshur County—C. P. Rohrbaugh, W. H. Williams.

Wayne County—C. Spurlock, F. Moore, W. W. Brumfield, W. H. Copley, Walter Queen.

Wirt County—E. T. Graham, Henry Newman, B. Ball.

Wetzel County—Elijah Morgan, T. E. Williams, Joseph Murphy, William Burrows, H. T. Bowers, J. R. Brown, J. M. Bell, Jacob Young, Reuben Martin, R. Reed, R. S. Sayres, W. D. Welker, George W. Bier, Thos. McQuown, John Alley, S. Stephens, R. W. Lauck, John McClaskey, Richard Cook, A. McElroy, B. Vancamp.

Wood County—William Johnston, W. H. Baker, A. R. Dye, V. A. Dunbar, G. H. Ralston, S. M. Peterson, S. D. Compton, J. L. Padgett, George Loomis, George W. Henderson, E. Deem, N. H. Colston, A. Hinckley, Bennett Cook, S. S. Spencer, Thomas Leach, T. E. McPherson, Joseph Dagg, N. W. Warlow, Peter Riddle, John Paugh, S. L. A. Burche, J. J. Jackson, J. D. Ingram, A. Laughlin, J. C. Rathbone, W. Vrooman, G. E. Smith, D. K. Baylor, M. Woods, Andrew Als, Jesse Burche, S. Ogden, Sardis Cole, P. Reed, John McKibben, W. Athey, C. Hunter, R. H. Burke, W. P. Davis, George Compton, C. M. Cole, Roger Tiffins, H. Rider, R. H. Bailey, John W. Moss, R. B. Smith, Arthur Drake, C. B. Smith, A. Mather, A. H. Hatcher, W. E. Stevenson, Jesse Murdock, J. Burche, J. Morrison, Henry Cole, J. G. Blackford, C. J. Neal, T. S. Conley, J. Barnett, M. P. Amis, T. Hunter, J. J. Neal, Edward Holt, N. B. Caswell, Peter Dilis, W. P. Henry, A. C. McKinsey, Rufus Kinnard, J. J. Jackson, Jr.

The convention assembled to take whatever action might seem proper, but no definite plan had been decided upon further than that Western Virginia should protest against going into Secession with Virginia. The majority of the members looked forward to the formation of a new State as the ultimate and chief purpose of the convention. Time and care were necessary for the accomplishment of this object. But there were several, chief among whom was John S. Carlile, who boldly proclaimed that the time for forming a new State was at hand. There was a sharp division in the convention as to the best method of attaining that end. While Carlile led those who were for immediate action, Waitman T. Willey was among the foremost of those who insisted that the business must be conducted in a business-like way, first by re-organizing the Government of Virginia, and then obtaining the consent of the Legislature to divide the State. Mr. Carlile actually introduced a measure providing for a new State at once.

It met with much favor. But Mr. Willey and others pointed out that precipitate action would defeat the object in view, because Congress would never recognize the State as created. After much controversy there was a compromise reached, which was not difficult, where all parties aimed at the greatest good, and differed only as to the best means of attaining it.

At that time the Ordinance of Secession had not been voted upon. Virginia had already turned over to the Southern Confederacy all its military supplies, public property, troops and materials, stipulating that, in case the Ordinance of Secession should be defeated at the polls, the property should revert to the State. The Wheeling Convention took steps, pending the election, recommending that, in case Secession carried at the polls, a convention be held for the purpose of deciding what to do—whether to divide the State or simply re-organize the Government. This was the compromise measure which was satisfactory to both parties of the convention. Until the Ordinance of Secession had been ratified by the people Virginia was still, in law if not in fact, a member of the Federal Union, and any step was premature looking to a division of the State or a re-organization of its Government before the election. F. H. Pierpont, afterwards Governor, introduced the resolution which provided for another convention in case the Ordinance of Secession should be ratified at the polls. The resolution provided that the counties represented in the convention, and all other counties of Virginia disposed to act with them, appoint on June 4, 1861, delegates to a convention to meet June 11. This convention would then be prepared to proceed to business, whether that business should be the re-organization of the Government of Virginia or the dividing of the State, or both. Having finished its work, the convention adjourned. Had it rashly attempted to divide the State at that time the effort must have failed, and the bad effects of the failure, and the consequent confusion, would have been far-reaching. No man can tell whether such a failure would not have defeated for all time the creation of West Virginia from Virginia's territory.

The vote on the Ordinance of Secession took place May 22, 1861, and the people of eastern Virginia voted to go out of the Union, but the part now comprising West Virginia gave a large majority against seceding. Delegates to the Assembly of Virginia were elected at the same time. Great interest was now manifested west of the Alleghanies in the subject of a new State. Delegates to the second Wheeling Convention were elected June 4, and met June 11, 1861. The members of the first convention had been appointed by mass-meetings and otherwise, but those of the second convention had been chosen by the suffrage of the people. Thirty counties were represented as follows:

Barbour County—N. H. Taft, Spencer Dayton, John H. Shuttleworth.

Brooke County—W. H. Crothers, Joseph Gist, John D. Nichols, Campbell Tarr.

Cahell County—Albert Laidly was entered on the roll but did not serve.

Doddridge County—James A. Foley.

Gilmer County—Henry H. Withers.

Hancock County—George M. Porter, John H. Atkinson, William L. Crawford.

Harrison County—John J. Davis, Chapman J. Stewart, John C. Vance, John S. Carlile, Solomon S. Fleming, Lot Bowers, B. F. Shuttleworth.

Hardy County—John Michael.

well, J. R. Hubbard, E. Bachanon, John Pierson, T. Witham, E. McCasla,
Plessants County—Frederick Cochran, James Williamson, Robert Parker,
R. A. Cramer.

Preston County—R. C. Crooks, H. C. Hagans, W. H. King, James W.
Brown, Summers McCrum, Charles Hooten, William P. Fortney, James A.
Brown, G. H. Kidd, John Howard, D. A. Letzinger, W. B. Linn, W. J.
Brown, Reuben Morris.

Ritchie County—D. Rexroad, J. P. Harris, N. Rexroad, A. S. Cole,
Roane County—Iwin C. Stump.

Taylor County—J. Means, J. M. Wilson, J. Kennedy, J. J. Warren,
T. Monroe, G. R. Latham, B. Bailey, J. J. Allen, T. Cather, John S. Bur-
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Tyler County—Daniel Sweeney, V. Smith, W. B. Kerr, D. D. Johnson,
J. C. Parker, William Pritchard, D. King, S. A. Hawkins, James M. Smith,
J. H. Johnson, Isaac Davis.

Upshur County—C. P. Rohrbaugh, W. H. Williams.

Wayne County—C. Spurlock, F. Moore, W. W. Brumfield, W. H. Cop-
ley, Walter Queen.

Wirt County—E. T. Graham, Henry Newman, B. Ball.

Wetzel County—Elijah Morgan, T. E. Williams, Joseph Murphy, Wil-
liam Barrows, B. T. Bowers, J. R. Brown, J. M. Bell, Jacob Young, Rob-
ert Martin, R. Reed, R. S. Sayres, W. D. Walker, George W. Bier, Thos.
McQuown, John Alley, S. Stephens, R. W. Lauck, John McClaskey, Richard
Cook, A. McElroy, B. Vancamp.

Wood County—William Johnston, W. H. Baker, A. R. Dye, V. A. Dur-
bar, G. H. Raiston, S. M. Peterson, S. D. Compton, J. L. Padgett, George
Loomis, George W. Henderson, E. Deem, N. H. Colston, A. Hinckley, Ben-
nett Cook, S. S. Spencer, Thomas Leach, T. E. McPherson, Joseph Dagg,
N. W. Warlow, Peter Riddle, John Paugh, S. L. A. Burch, J. J. Jackson,
J. D. Ingram, A. Laughlin, J. C. Rathbone, W. Vroman, G. E. Smith, D.
K. Baylor, M. Woods, Andrew Als, Jesse Burch, S. Ogden, Sardis Cole,
P. Reed, John McKibben, W. Athey, C. Hunter, R. H. Burles, W. P. Davis,
George Compton, C. M. Cole, Roger Tiffins, H. Rider, B. H. Buckley, John

Moss, R. B. Smith, Arthur Drake, C. B. Smith, A. Mather, A. H.
Atcher, W. E. Stevenson, Jesse Marlock, J. Burch, J. Morrison, Henry
De, J. G. Blackford, C. J. Neal, T. S. Cosley, J. Barnett, M. P. Amiss,
Hunter, J. J. Neal, Edward Hoit, N. B. Caswell, Peter Dilts, W. F. Henry,
A. C. McKinsey, Rufus Kinnard, J. J. Jackson, Jr.

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then obtaining the consent of the Legislature to divide the State. Mr.
Carlile actually introduced a measure providing for a new State at once.

THE RE-ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT.

Hampshire County—James Carskadon, Owen J. Downey, James J. Bar-
racks, G. W. Broski, James H. Trout.
 Jackson County—Daniel Frost, Andrew Fleisher, James F. Scott.
 Kanawha County—Lewis Ruffner, Greenbury Slack.
 Lewis County—J. A. J. Lightburn, P. M. Hale.
 Monongalia County—Joseph Snyder, Leroy Kramer, R. L. Berkshire,
 William Price, James Evans, D. B. Dorsey.
 Marion County—James O. Watson, Richard Fast, Fontain Smith, Fra-
cis H. Pierpont, John S. Barnes, A. F. Ritchie.
 Marshall County—C. H. Caldwell, Robert Morris, Remembrance Swan.
 Mason County—Lewis Wetzel, Daniel Polisley, C. B. Waggener.
 Ohio County—Andrew Wilson, Thomas H. Logan, Daniel Lamb, James
 W. Paxton, George Harrison, Chester D. Hubbard.
 Pleasants County—James W. Williamson, C. W. Smith.
 Preston County—William Zinn, Charles Hooten, William B. Crane, John
 Howard, Harrison Hagans, John J. Brown.
 Ritchie County—William H. Douglass.
 Randolph County—Samuel Crane.
 Roane County—T. A. Roberts.
 Tucker County—Solomon Parsons.
 Taylor County—L. E. Davidson, John S. Burdette, Samuel B. Todd.
 Tyler County—William I. Boreman, Daniel D. Johnson.
 Upshur County—John Love, John L. Smith, D. D. T. Farnsworth.
 Wayne County—William Ratcliff, William Copley, W. W. Brumfield.
 Wetzel County—James G. West, Reuben Martin, James P. Ferrell.
 Wirt County—James A. Williamson, Henry Newman, E. T. Graham.
 Wood County—John W. Moss, Peter G. VanWinkle, Arthur I. Bore-
 man.

James T. Close and H. S. Martin, of Alexandria, and John Hawkhurst
 and E. E. Mason, of Fairfax, were admitted as delegates, while William F.
 Mercer, of Loudoun, and Jonathan Roberts, of Fairfax, were rejected be-
 cause of the insufficiency of their credentials. Arthur I. Boreman was
 elected president of the convention, G. L. Cranmer, secretary, and Thomas
 Hornbrook, sergeant-at-arms.

On June 13, two days after the meeting of the convention, a committee
 on Order of Business reported a declaration by the people of Virginia. This
 document set forth the acts of the Secessionists of Virginia, declared them
 hostile to the welfare of the people, done in violation of the constitution,
 and therefore null and void. It was further declared that all offices in Vir-
 ginia, whether legislative, judicial or executive, under the government set
 up by the convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession, were vacant.
 The next day the convention began the work of re-organizing the State Gov-
 ernment on the following lines: A Governor, Lieutenant Governor and
 Attorney General for the State of Virginia were to be appointed by
 the convention to hold office until their successors should be elected and
 qualified, and the Legislature was required to provide by law for the elec-
 tion of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor by the people. A Council of
 State, consisting of five members, was to be appointed to assist the Gov-
 ernor, their term of office to expire at the same time as that of the Governor.
 Delegates elected to the Legislature on May 23, 1861, and Senators entitled
 to seats under the laws then existing, and who would take the oath as
 required, were to constitute the re-organized Legislature, and were required

to meet in Wheeling on the first day of the following July. A test oath was required of all officers, whether State, County or Municipal.

On June 20 the convention proceeded to choose officers. Francis H. Pierpoint was elected Governor of Virginia; Daniel Poiusley was elected Lieutenant Governor; James Wheat was chosen Attorney General. The Governor's council consisted of Daniel Lamb, Peter G. Van Winkle, William Lewis, William A. Harrison and J. T. Paxton. The Legislature was required to elect an Auditor, Treasurer and Secretary of State as soon as possible. This closed the work of the convention, and it adjourned to meet August 6.

A new government existed for Virginia. The Legislature which was to assemble in Wheeling in ten days could complete the work.

This Legislature of Virginia, consisting of thirty-one members, began its labors immediately upon organizing, July 1. A message from Governor Pierpoint laid before that body the condition of affairs and indicated certain measures which ought to be carried out. On July 9 the Legislature elected L. A. Baggett, of Preston County, Secretary of Virginia; Samuel Crane, of Randolph County, Auditor; and Campbell Tarr, of Brooke County, Treasurer. Washburn T. Willey and John S. Carlile were elected to the United States Senate.

The convention which had adjourned June 20 met again August 6 and took up the work of dividing Virginia, whose government had been reorganized and was in working order. The people wanted a new State and the machinery for creating it was set in motion. On July 20 an ordinance was passed calling for an election to take the sense of the people on the question, and to elect members to a constitutional convention at the same time. In case the vote favored a new State, the men elected to the constitutional convention were to meet and frame a constitution. The convention adjourned August 2, 1861. Late in October the election was held, with the result that the vote stood about twenty-five to one in favor of a new State.

CHAPTER XV.

ORGANIZING FOR WAR.

In a work of this sort it should not be expected that a full account of the Civil War, as it affected West Virginia, will be given. It must suffice to present only an outline of events as they occurred in that great struggle, nor is any pretence made that this outline shall be complete. The vote on the Ordinance of Secession showed that a large majority of the people in this State were opposed to a separation from the United States. This vote, while it could not have been much of a surprise to the politicians in the eastern part of Virginia, was a disappointment. It did not prevent Virginia, as a State, from joining the Southern Confederacy, but the results made it plain that Virginia was divided against itself, and that all the part west of the Alleghany Mountains, and much of that west of the Blue Ridge, would not take up arms against the general government in furtherance of the interests of the Southern Confederacy.

It therefore became necessary for Virginia, backed by the other Southern States, to conquer its own transmontane territory. The commencement of the war in what is now West Virginia was due to an invasion by troops in the service of the Southern Confederacy in an effort to hold the territory as a part of Virginia. It should not be understood, however, that there was no sympathy with the South in this State. As nearly as can be estimated the number who took sides with the South, in proportion to those who upheld the Union, was as one to six. The people generally were left to choose. Efforts were made at the same time to raise soldiers for the South and for the North, and those who did not want to go one way were at liberty to go the other. In the eastern part of the State considerable success was met in enlisting volunteers for the Confederacy, but in the western counties there were hardly any who went with the South. That the government at Richmond felt the disappointment keenly is evidenced by the efforts put forth to organize companies of volunteers, and the discouraging reports of the recruiting officers.

Robert E. Lee was appointed commander in-chief of the military and naval forces of Virginia, April 23, 1861, and on the same day he wrote to Governor Letcher accepting the office. Six days later he wrote Major A. Loring, at Wheeling, urging him to muster into the service of the State all the volunteer companies in that vicinity, and to take command of them. Loring was asked to report what success attended his efforts. On the same day Lieutenant-Colonel John McCausland, at Richmond, received orders from General Lee to proceed at once to the Kanawha Valley and muster into service the volunteer companies in that quarter. General Lee named four companies already formed, two in Kanawha and two in Putnam Counties,

and he expressed the belief that others would offer their services. McCauley was instructed to organize a company of artillery in the Kanawha Valley. On the next day, April 30, General Lee wrote to Major Boykin, at Weston, in Lewis County, ordering him to muster in the volunteer companies in that part of the State, and to ascertain how many volunteers could be raised in the vicinity of Parkersburg. General Lee stated in the letter that he had sent two hundred flint-lock muskets to Colonel Jackson (Stonewall) at Harper's Ferry, for the use of the volunteers about Weston. He said no better guns could be had at that time. The next day, May 1, Governor Letcher announced that arrangements had been made for calling out fifty thousand Virginia volunteers, to assemble at Norfolk, Richmond, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Harper's Ferry, Grafton, Parkersburg, Kanawha and Mountville. On May 4 General Lee ordered Colonel George A. Porterfield to Grafton to take charge of the troops in that quarter, those already in service and those who were expected to volunteer. Colonel Porterfield was ordered, by authority of the Governor of Virginia, to call out the volunteers in the counties of Wood, Wirt, Roane, Calhoun, Gilmer, Ritchie, Pleasant and Doddridge, to rendezvous at Parkersburg; and in the counties of Braxton, Lewis, Harrison, Monongalia, Taylor, Barbour, Upshur, Tucker, Marion, Randolph and Preston, to rendezvous at Grafton. General Lee said he did not know how many men could be enlisted, but he supposed five regiments could be mustered into service in that part of the State.

In these orders sent out General Lee expressed a desire to be kept informed of the success attending the call for volunteers. Replies soon began to arrive at Richmond, and they were uniformly discouraging to General Lee. It was early apparent that the people of Western Virginia were not enthusiastic in taking up arms for the Southern Confederacy. Major Boykin wrote General Lee that the call for volunteers was not meeting with success. To this letter General Lee replied on May 11, and urged Major Boykin to persevere and call out the companies for such counties as were not so hostile to the South, and to concentrate them at Grafton. He stated that four hundred rifles had been forwarded from Staunton to Beverly, in Randolph County, where Major Goff would receive and hold them until further orders. Major Boykin requested that companies from other parts of the State be sent to Grafton to take the places of companies which had been counted upon to organize in that vicinity, but which had failed to materialize. To this suggestion General Lee replied that he did not consider it advisable to do so, as the presence of outside companies at Grafton would tend to irritate the people instead of conciliating them.

On May 16 Colonel Porterfield had arrived at Grafton and had taken a hasty survey of the situation, and his conclusion was that the cause of the Southern Confederacy in that vicinity was not promising. On that day he made a report to R. H. Garnett, at Richmond, Adjutant General of the Virginia army, and stated that the rifles ordered to Beverly from Staunton had not arrived, nor had they been heard from. It appears from this report that no volunteers had yet assembled at Grafton, but Colonel Porterfield said a company was organizing at Pruntytown, in Taylor County; one at Weston, under Captain Bergman; one at Phillips, another at Clarksburg, and still another at Fairmont. Only two of these companies had guns, flintlocks, and no ammunition. At that time all of these companies had been ordered to Grafton. Colonel Porterfield said, in a tone of discouragement, that these troops, almost destitute of guns and ammunition, were all he had

to depend upon, and he considered the force very weak compared with the strength of those in that vicinity who were prepared to oppose him. He complained that he had found much diversity of opinion and "rebelion" among the people, who did not believe that the State was strong enough to contend against the Government. "I am, too, credibly informed," said he, "to entertain doubt that they have been and will be supplied with the means of resistance. * * * * Their efforts to intimidate have had their effect, both to dishearten one party and to encourage the other. Many good citizens have been dispirited, while traitors have seized the guns and ammunition of the State to be used against its authority. The force in this section will need the best rifles. * * * * There will not be the same use for the bayonet in these hills as elsewhere, and the movements should be of light infantry and rifle, although the bayonet, of course, would be desirable."

About this time, that is near the middle of May, 1861, General Lee ordered one thousand muskets sent to Beverly for the use of the volunteer companies organizing to the northward of that place. Colonel Heck was sent in charge of the guns, and General Lee instructed him to call out all the volunteers possible along the route from Staunton to Beverly. If the authorities at Richmond had learned by the middle of May that Western Virginia was not to be depended upon for filling with volunteers the ranks of the Southern armies, the truth was still more apparent six weeks later. By that time General Garnett had crossed the Alleghanies in person, and had brought a large force of Confederate troops with him and was entrenched at Laurel Hill and Rich Mountain, in Randolph County. It had been claimed that volunteers had not joined the Confederate standard because they were afraid to do so in the face of the stronger Union companies organizing in the vicinity, but that if a Confederate army were in the country to overawe the advocates of the Union cause then large numbers of recruits would organize to help the South. Thus Garnett marched over the Alleghanies and called for volunteers. The result was deeply mortifying to him as well as discouraging to the authorities at Richmond. On June 25, 1861, he wrote to General Lee, dating his letter at Laurel Hill. He complained that he could not find out what the movements of the Union forces were likely to be, and added that the Union men in that vicinity were much more active, numerous and zealous than the secessionists. He said it was like carrying on a campaign in a foreign country, as the people were nearly all against him, and never missed an opportunity to divulge his movements to McClellan, but would give him no information of what McClellan was doing. "My hope," he wrote to Lee, "of increasing my force in this region has so far been sadly disappointed. Only eight men have joined me here, and only fifteen at Colonel Heck's camp—not enough to make up my losses by discharges. The people are thoroughly imbued with an ignorant and bigoted Union sentiment."

If more time was required to ascertain the sentiment in the Kanawha Valley than had been necessary in the northern and eastern part of the State, it was nevertheless seen in due time that the Southern Confederacy's supporters in that quarter were in a hopeless minority. General Henry A. Wise, ex-Governor of Virginia, had been sent into the Kanawha Valley early in 1861 to organize such forces as could be mustered for the Southern army. He was one of the most fiery leaders in the Southern Confederacy, and an able man, and of great influence. He had, perhaps, done more than any other

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man in Virginia to swing that State into the Southern Confederacy. He it was who, when the Ordinance of Secession was in the balance in the Richmond Convention, rose in the convention, drew a horse pistol from his bosom, placed it upon the desk before him, and proceeded to make one of the most impassioned speeches heard in that tumultuous convention. The effect of his speech was treasonous, and Virginia wheeled into line with the other Confederate States. General Wise hurried to the field, and was soon in the thick of the fight in the Kanawha Valley. He failed to organize an army there, and in his disappointment and anger he wrote to General Lee, August 1, 1861, saying: "The Kanawha Valley is wholly disaffected and traitorous. It was given from Charleston to Point Pleasant before I got there. Hocen and Cabell are nearly as bad, and the state of things in for awhile was here. They are worthless who are true, and there is no telling who is true. You cannot persuade these people that Virginia can or will reconquer the northwest, and they are submitting, subdued and debased." General Wise made an urgent request for more guns, ammunition and clothing.

While the Confederates were doing their utmost to organize and equip forces in Western Virginia, and were meeting discouragements and failure nearly everywhere, the people who upheld the Union were also at work, and success was the rule and failure almost unknown. As soon as the fact was realized that Virginia had joined the Southern Confederacy; had seized upon the government arsenals and other property within the State, and had commenced war upon the government, and was preparing to continue the hostilities, the people of Western Virginia, who had long suffered from the injustice and oppression of the eastern part of the State, began to prepare for war. They did not long halt between two opinions, but at once espoused the cause of the United States. Companies were organized everywhere. The spirit with which the cause of the Union was upheld was one of the most discouraging features of the situation, as viewed by the Confederates who were vainly trying to raise troops in this part of the State. The people in the Kanawha Valley who told General Wise that they did not believe Virginia could conquer Western Virginia had reasons for their conclusions. The people along the Ohio, the Kanawha, the Monongahela; in the interior, among the mountains, were everywhere drilling and arming.

There was some delay and disappointment in securing arms for the Union troops as they were organized in West Virginia. Early in the war, while there was yet hope entertained by some that the trouble could be adjusted without much fighting, there was hesitation on the part of the Government about sending guns into Virginia to arm one class of the people. Consequently some of the first arms received in Western Virginia did not come directly from the Government arsenals, but were sent from Massachusetts. As early as May 7, 1861, a shipment of two thousand stands of arms was made from the Watervliet arsenal, New York, to the northern Panhandle of West Virginia, above Wheeling. These guns armed some of the first soldiers from West Virginia that took the field. An effort had been made to obtain arms from Pittsburg, but it was unsuccessful. Campbell Tarr, of Brooke County, and others, went to Washington as a committee, and it was through their efforts that the guns were obtained. The government officials were very cautious at that time lest they should do something without express warrant in law. But Edwin M. Stanton advised that the

guns be sent, promising that he would find the law for it afterwards. Governor Pierpont had written to President Lincoln for help, and the reply had been that all help that could be given under the constitution would be furnished.

The Civil War opened in West Virginia by a conflict between the Confederate forces in the State and the Federal forces sent against them. The first Union troops to advance came from Wheeling and beyond the Ohio River. Colonel Benjamin F. Kelley organized a force at Wheeling, and was instructed to obey orders from General McClellan, then at Cincinnati.

The first order from McClellan to Kelley was that he should fortify the hills about Wheeling. This was on May 26, 1861. This appears to have been thought necessary as a precaution against an advance on the part of the Confederates, but McClellan did not know how weak they were in West Virginia at that time. Colonel Porterfield could not get together men and ammunition enough to encourage him to hold Grafton, much less to advance to the Ohio River. It is true that on the day that Virginia passed the Ordinance of Secession Governor Letcher made an effort to hold Wheeling, but it signally failed. He wrote to Mayor Sweeney, of that city, to seize the postoffice, the custom house, and all government property in that city, hold them in the name of the State of Virginia. Mayor Sweeney replied: "I have seized upon the custom house, the postoffice and all public buildings and documents, in the name of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whose property they are."

Colonel Kelley, when he received the order to fortify the hills about Wheeling, replied that he did not believe such a step was necessary, but that the proper thing to do was to advance to Grafton and drive the Confederates out of the country. McClellan accepted the suggestion, and ordered Kelley to move to Grafton with the force under his orders. These troops had enlisted at Wheeling and had been drilled for service. They were armed with guns sent from Massachusetts. They carried their ammunition in their pockets, as they had not yet been fully equipped with the accoutrements of war. They were full of enthusiasm, and were much gratified when the orders came for an advance. The agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Wheeling refused to furnish cars for the troops, giving as his reason that the railroad would remain neutral. Colonel Kelley announced that if the cars were not ready by four o'clock next morning he would seize them by force, and take military possession of the railroad. The cars were ready at four the next morning.* While Kelley's troops were setting out from Wheeling an independent movement was in progress at Morgantown to drive the Confederates out of Grafton. A number of companies had been organized on the Monongahela, and they assembled at Morgantown, where they were joined by three companies from Pennsylvania, and were about to set out for Grafton on their own responsibility, when they learned that Colonel Kelley had already advanced from Wheeling, and that the Confederates had retreated. Colonel Porterfield learned of the advance from Wheeling and saw that he would be attacked before his force under his command were able to successfully resist an attack, and he prepared to retreat southward. He ordered two railroad bridges burned,

* "Loyal West Virginia," by T. F. Lang.

between Fairmont and Mannington, hoping thereby to delay the arrival of the Wheeling troops.

At daybreak on May 27 Colonel Kelley's troops left Wheeling on board the cars for Grafton. When they reached Mannington they stopped long enough to rebuild the burnt bridges, which delayed them only a short time. While there Kelley received a telegram from McClellan informing him that troops from Ohio and Indiana were on their way to his assistance. When the Wheeling troops reached Grafton the town had been deserted by the Confederates, who had retreated to Philippi, about twenty-five miles south of Grafton. Colonel Kelley at once planned pursuit. On June 1 a considerable number of soldiers from Ohio and Indiana had arrived. Colonel R. H. Milroy, Colonel Irvine and General Thomas A. Morris were in command of the troops from beyond the Ohio. They were the van of General McClellan's advance into West Virginia. When General Morris arrived at Grafton he assumed command of all the forces in that vicinity. Colonel Kelley's plan of pursuit of Colonel Porterfield was laid before General Morris and was approved by him, and preparations were immediately commenced for carrying it into execution. It appears that Colonel Porterfield did not expect pursuit. He had established his camp at Philippi and was waiting for reinforcements and supplies, which failed to arrive. Since assuming command of the Confederate forces in West Virginia he had met one disappointment after another. His force at Philippi was stated at the time to number two thousand, but it was little more than half so large. General Morris and Colonel Kelley prepared to attack him with three thousand men, advancing at night by two routes to fall upon him by surprise.

Colonel Kelley was to march about six miles east from Grafton on the morning of June 2, and from that point march across the mountains during the afternoon and night, and so regulate his movements as to reach Philippi at four o'clock the next morning. Colonel Dumont, who had charge of the other column, was ordered to repair to Webster, a small town on the Parkersburg branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, four miles west from Grafton, and to march from that point toward Philippi, to appear before the town exactly at four o'clock on the morning of June 3. Colonel Kelley's task was the more difficult, for he followed roads that were very poor. General Morris suspected that spies in and about Grafton would discover the movement and would carry the news to Colonel Porterfield at Philippi, and that he would hurriedly retreat, either toward Beverly or eastward to St. George, on Cheat River. Colonel Kelley was therefore ordered, in case he received positive intelligence that Porterfield had retreated eastward, to follow as fast as possible and endeavor to intercept him; at the same time he was to notify Colonel Dumont of the retreat and of the movement to intercept the Confederates.

Colonel Kelley left Grafton in the early morning. It was generally supposed he was on his way to Harper's Ferry. Colonel Dumont's column left Grafton after dark on the evening of June 2. The march that night was through rain and in pitch darkness. This delayed Dumont's division, and it seemed that it would not be able to reach Philippi by the appointed time, but the men marched the last five miles in an hour and a quarter, and so well was everything managed that Kelley's and Dumont's forces arrived before Philippi within fifteen minutes of each other. The Confederates had no knowledge of the advance and were off their guard. The pickets fired a few shots and fled. The Union artillery opened on the camp and the utmost

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confusion prevailed. Colonel Porterfield ordered a retreat, and succeeded in saving the most of his men, but lost a considerable portion of the small supply of arms he had. He abandoned his camp and stores. This action was called the "Philippi Races," because of the haste with which the Confederates fled and the Union forces pursued. Colonel Kelley, while leading the pursuit, was shot through the breast and was supposed to be mortally wounded, but he subsequently recovered and took an active part in the war until its close.

General McClellan, who had not yet crossed the Ohio, was much encouraged by this victory, small as it appears in comparison with the momentous events later in the war. The Union people of West Virginia were also much encouraged, and the Confederates were correspondingly depressed.

Colonel Porterfield's cup of disappointment was full when, five days after his retreat from Philippi, he learned that he had been superseded by General Robert S. Garnett, who was on his way from Richmond to assume command of the Confederate forces in West Virginia. Colonel Porterfield had retreated to Huttonsville, in Randolph County, above Beverly, and there turned his command over to his successor. A court of inquiry was held to examine Colonel Porterfield's conduct. He was censured by the Richmond people who had sent him into West Virginia, had neglected him, had failed to supply him with arms or the adequate means of defense, and when he suffered defeat, they threw the blame on him when the most of it belonged to themselves. Little more than one month elapsed from that time before the Confederate authorities had occasion to understand more fully the situation beyond the Alleghanies: and the general who took Colonel Porterfield's place, with seven or eight times his force of men and arms, conducted a far more disastrous retreat, and was killed while bringing off his broken troops from a lost battle.

Previous to General McClellan's coming into West Virginia he issued a proclamation to the people, in which he stated the purpose of his coming, and why troops were about to be sent across the Ohio river. This proclamation was written in Cincinnati, May 26, 1861, and sent by telegraph to Wheeling and Parkersburg, there to be printed and circulated. The people were told that the army was about to cross the Ohio as friends to all who were loyal to the Government of the United States; to prevent the destruction of property by the rebels; to preserve order, to co-operate with loyal Virginians in their efforts to free the State from the Confederates, and to punish all attempts at insurrection among slaves, should they rise against their masters. This last statement was no doubt meant to allay the fears of many that as soon as a Union army was upon the soil there would be a slave insurrection, which, of all things, was most dreaded by those who lived among slaves. On the same day General McClellan issued an address to his soldiers, informing them that they were about to cross the Ohio, and acquainting them with the duties to be performed. He told them they were to act in concert with the loyal Virginians in putting down the rebellion. He enjoined the strictest discipline and warned them against interfering with the rights or property of the loyal Virginians. He called on them to show mercy to those captured in arms, for many of them were misguided. He stated that, when the Confederates had been driven from northwestern Virginia, the loyal people of that part of the State would be able to organize and arm, and would be competent to take care of themselves, and then the

portion of the troops from Ohio and Indiana would be no longer needed, and they could return to their homes. He little understood what the next four years would bring forth.

Three weeks had not elapsed after General Porterfield retreated from Philippi before General McClellan saw that something more was necessary before Western Virginia would be pacified. The Confederates had been largely defeated at Philippi, and had fortified their camp. Philippi was at that time occupied by General Morris, and a collision between his forces and those of the Confederates was likely to occur at any time. General McClellan thought it advisable to be near the scene of operations, and on June 20, 1861, he crossed the Ohio with his staff and proceeded to Grafton, where he established his headquarters. He had at this time about twenty thousand soldiers in West Virginia, stationed from Wheeling to Grafton, from Parkersburg to the same place, and in the country round about.

Colonel Porterfield was relieved of his command by General Garnett, June 14, 1861, and the military affairs of northwestern Virginia were looked after by Garnett in person. The Richmond government and the Southern Confederacy had no intention of abandoning the country beyond the Alleghany. On the contrary, it was resolved to hold it at all hazards; but subsequent events showed that the Confederates either greatly underestimated the strength of McClellan's army or greatly overestimated the strength of their own forces sent against him. Otherwise Garnett, with a force of only six thousand, would not have been pushed forward against the lines of an army of twenty thousand, and that too, in a position so remote that Garnett was practically isolated from all assistance. Reinforcements numbering about two thousand men were on the way from Staunton to Beverly at the time of Garnett's defeat, but had these troops reached him in time to be of service, he would still have had not half as large a force as that of McClellan opposed to him. Military men have severely criticized General Lee for what they regard as a blunder in thus sending an army to almost certain destruction, with little hope of performing any service to the Confederacy.

Had the Confederates been able to hold the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the disaster attending General Garnett's campaign would probably not have occurred. With that road in their hands, they could have thrown soldiers and supplies into Clifton and Charlestown within ten hours from Hager's Ferry. They would thus have had quick communication with their base of supplies and an open way to fall back when compelled to do so. Had they did not hold the Baltimore and Ohio Road, and their only practicable route was Western Virginia, north of the Kanawha, was by wagon roads across the Alleghany, by way of the Valley of Virginia. This was a long and difficult route by which to transport supplies for an army; and to none that army was compelled to retreat, the loss of retreat was to be to be set by the strategy, as it actually was in the case of Garnett.

In July 1, 1861, General Garnett had about four thousand five hundred men. The most of these were from Western Virginia and the State forces units. A considerable part of these were volunteers who had recently been recruited at Hintonville, Florida. Reinforcements were continually arriving over the Alleghany, and by July 10 he had six thousand men detailed northwest and westward from Beverly and occupied the passes

on Laurel Hill, one named Camp Rich Mountain, six miles west of Beverly, the other fifteen miles north by west, near Bellington, in Barbour County. These positions were naturally strong, and their strength was increased by fortifications of logs and stones. They were only a few miles from the outposts of McClellan's army. Had the Confederate positions been attacked only from the front it is probable that they could have held out a considerable time. But there was little in the way of flank movements, and when McClellan made his attack, it was by flanking. General Garnett was not a novice in the field. He had seen service in the Mexican War; had taken part in many of the hardest battles; had fought Indians three years on the Pacific Coast, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he was traveling in Europe. He hastened home; resigned his position in the United States Army and joined the Confederate Army, and was almost immediately sent into West Virginia to be sacrificed.

While the Confederates were fortifying their positions in Randolph and Barbour Counties, the Union forces were not idle. On June 22 General McClellan crossed the Ohio River at Parkersburg. The next day at Grafton he issued two proclamations, one to the citizens of West Virginia, the other to his soldiers. To the citizens he gave assurance again that he came as a friend, to uphold the laws, to protect the law-abiding, and to punish those in rebellion against the Government. In the proclamation to his soldiers he told them that he had entered West Virginia to bring peace to the peaceable and the sword to the rebellious who were in arms, but mercy to disarmed rebels. He began to concentrate his forces for an attack on Garnett. He moved his headquarters to Buckhannon on July 2, to be near the center of operations. Clarksburg was his base of supplies, and he constructed a telegraph line as he advanced, one of the first, if not the very first, military telegraph lines in America. From Buckhannon he could move in any desired direction by good roads. He had fortified posts at Webster, Clarksburg, Parkersburg and Grafton. Eight days later he had moved his headquarters to Middle Fort, between Beckhannon and Beverly, and in the meantime his forces had made a general advance. He was now within sight of the Confederate fortifications on Rich Mountain. General Morris, who was leading the advance against Laurel Hill, was also within sight of the Confederates. There had already been some skirmishing, and all believed that the time was near when a battle would be fought. Colonel John Pegram, with thirteen hundred Confederates, was in command at Rich Mountain; and at Laurel Hill General Garnett, with between four thousand and five thousand men, was in command. There were about six hundred more Confederates at various points within a few miles.

After examining the ground McClellan decided to make the first attack on the Rich Mountain works, but in order to divert attention from his real purpose, he ordered General Morris, who was in front of General Garnett's position, to bombard the Confederates at Laurel Hill. Accordingly shells were thrown in the direction of the Confederate works, some of which exploded within the lines, but doing little damage. On the afternoon of July 19 General McClellan prepared to attack Pegram at Rich Mountain, but upon examination of the approaches he saw that an attack in front would probably be unsuccessful. The Confederate works were located one and a half miles west of the summit of Rich Mountain, where the Staunton and Parkersburg pike crosses. When the Union forces reached the open country at Roaring Creek, a short distance west of the Confederate position,

Colonel Pegram planned an attack upon them, but upon mature reflection, abandoned it. There was a path leading from Roaring Creek across Rich Mountain to Beverly, north of the Confederate position, and Colonel Pegram guarded this path with troops under Colonel Scott, but he did not know that another path led across the mountain south of his position, by which McClellan could flank him. This path was left unguarded, and it was instrumental in Pegram's defeat. General Rosecrans, who was in charge of one wing of the forces in front of the Confederate position, met a young man named David Hart, whose father lived one and a half miles in the rear of the Confederate fortifications, and he said he could pilot a force, by an obscure road, round the southern end of the Confederate lines and reach his father's farm, on the summit of the mountain, from which an attack on Colonel Pegram in the rear could be made. The young man was taken to General McClellan and consented to act as a guide. Thereupon General McClellan changed his plan from attacking in front to an attack in the rear. He moved a portion of his forces to the western base of Rich Mountain, ready to support the attack when made, and he then dispatched General Rosecrans, under the guidance of young Hart, by the circuitous route, to the rear of the Confederates. Rosecrans reached his destination and sent a messenger to inform General McClellan of the fact, and that all was in readiness for the attack. This messenger was captured by the Confederates, and Pegram learned of the new danger which threatened him, while McClellan was left in doubt whether his troops had been able to reach the point for which they had started. Had it not been for this perhaps the fighting would have resulted in the capture of the Confederates.

Colonel Pegram, finding that he was to be attacked from the rear, sent three hundred and fifty men to the point of danger, at the top of the mountain, and built the best breastworks possible in the short time at his disposal. When Rosecrans advanced to the attack he was stubbornly resisted, and the fight continued two or three hours, and neither side could gain any advantage. Pegram was sending up reinforcements to the mountain when the Union forces made a charge and swept the Confederates from the field. Colonel Pegram collected several companies and prepared to renew the fight. It was now late in the afternoon of July 11. The men were panic-stricken, but they moved forward, and were led around the mountain within musket range of the Union forces that had remained on the battle ground. But the Confederates became alarmed and fled without making an attack. Their forces were scattered over the mountain, and night was coming on. Colonel Pegram saw that all was lost, and determined to make his way to Garnett's army, if possible, about fifteen miles distant, through the woods. He commenced collecting his men and sending them forward. It was after midnight when he left the camp and set forward with the last remnants of his men in an effort to reach the Confederate forces on Laurel Hill. The loss of the Confederates in the battle had been about forty-five killed and about twenty wounded. All their baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the Union army. Sixty-three Confederates were captured. Rosecrans lost twelve killed and forty-nine wounded.

The retreat from Rich Mountain was disastrous. The Confederates were eighteen hours in groping their way twelve miles through the woods in the direction of Garnett's camp. Near sunset on July 12 they reached the Tygart River, three miles from the Laurel Hill camp, and there learned from the citizens that Garnett had already retreated and that the Union

forces were in pursuit. There seemed only one possible avenue of escape open for Pegram's force. That was a miserable road leading across the mountains into Pendleton County. Few persons lived near the road, and the outlook was that the men would starve to death if they attempted to make their way through. They were already starving. Accordingly, Colonel Pegram that night sent a flag of truce to Beverly, offering to surrender, and at the same time stating that his men were starving. Early the next morning General McClellan sent several wagon loads of bread to them, and met them on their way to Beverly. The number of prisoners surrendered was thirty officers and five hundred and twenty-five men. The remainder of the force at Rich Mountain had been killed, wounded, captured and scattered. Colonel Scott, who had been holding the path leading over the mountain north of the Confederate position, learned of the defeat of Pegram and he made good his retreat over the Alleghanies by way of Huttonsville.

It now remains to be told how General Garnett fared. The fact that he had posted the greater part of his army on Laurel Hill is proof that he expected the principal attack to be made on that place. He was for a time deceived by the bombardment directed against him, but he was undeceived when he learned that Colonel Pegram had been defeated, and that General McClellan had thrown troops across Rich Mountain and had successfully turned the flank of the Confederate position. All that was left for Garnett was to withdraw his army while there was yet time. His line of retreat was the pike from Beverly to Staunton, and the Union forces were pushing forward to occupy that and to cut him off in that direction. On the afternoon of July 12, 1861, Garnett retreated, hastening to reach Beverly in advance of the Union forces. On the way he met fugitives from Pegram's army and was told by them that McClellan had already reached Beverly, and that the road in that direction was closed. Thereupon Garnett turned eastward into Tucker County, over a very rough road. General Morris pursued the retreating Confederates over the mountain to Cheat River, skirmishing on the way. General Garnett remained in the rear directing his skirmishers, and on July 14 at Corrick's Ford, where Parsons, the county seat of Tucker County, has since been located, he found that he could no longer avoid giving battle. With a few hundred men he opened fire on the advance of the pursuing army and checked the pursuit. But in bringing off his skirmishers from behind a pile of driftwood, Garnett was killed and his men were seized with panic and fled, leaving his body on the field, with a score or more of dead.

When it was found that the Confederates were retreating eastward Federal troops from Grafton, Rowlesburg and other points on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were ordered to cut off the retreat at St. George, in Tucker County. But the troops could not be concentrated in time, and the concentration was made at Oakland, in Maryland, with the expectation of intercepting the retreating Confederates at Red House, eight miles west of Oakland.

Up to the time of the fight at Corrick's Ford the retreat had been orderly, but after that it became a rout. The roads were narrow and rough, and the excessive rains had rendered them almost impassable. Wagons and stores were abandoned, and when Horse Shoe Run, a long and narrow defile leading to the Red House, in Maryland, was reached information was received that Union troops from Rowlesburg and Oakland were

at the Red House, cutting off retreat in that direction. The artillery was sent to the front. A portion of the cavalry was piloted by a mountaineer along a narrow path across the Backbone and Alleghany Mountains. The main body continued its retreat to the Red House, and pursued its way unmolested across the Alleghanies to Monterey. Two regiments marching in haste to reinforce Garnett at Laurel Hill had reached Monterey when news of Garnett's retreat was received. The regiments halted there, and as Garnett's stragglers came in they were re-organized.

The Union army made no pursuit beyond Corrick's Ford, except that detachments followed to the Red House to pick up the stores abandoned by the Confederates. Garnett's body fell into the hands of the Union forces and was prepared for burial and sent to Richmond. It was carried in a canoe to Rowlesburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, thirty miles below, on Cheat River, in charge of Whitelaw Reid, who had taken part in the battle at Corrick's Ford. Reid was acting in the double capacity of correspondent for the *Cincinnati Gazette* and an aid on the staff of General Morris. When Rowlesburg was reached Garnett's body was sent by express to Governor Letcher, at Richmond.

This closed the campaign in that part of West Virginia for 1861. The Confederates had failed to hold the country. On July 22 General McClellan was transferred to Washington to take charge of military operations there. In comparison with the greater battles and more extensive campaign later in the war, the affairs in West Virginia were small. But they were of great importance at the time. Had the result been different, had the Confederates held their ground at Grafton, Philippi, Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill, and had the Union forces been driven out of the State, across the Ohio, the outcome would have changed the history of the war, but probably not the result.

CHAPTER XVI.

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PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

After Garnett's retreat in July, 1861, there were few Confederates in West Virginia, west of the Alleghanies, except in the Kanawha Valley. But the Government at Richmond and the Confederate Government were not inclined to give up so easily the part of Virginia west of the mountains, and in a short time preparations were made to send an army from the east to re-conquer the territory beyond the Alleghanies. A large part of the army with which McClellan had defeated Garnett had been sent to other fields; the terms of enlistment of many of the soldiers had expired. When the Confederates re-crossed the mountains late in the summer of 1861 they were opposed by less than ten thousand Federals stationed in that mountainous part of West Virginia about the sources of the Greenbrier, the Tygart Valley River, Cheat, and near the source of the Potomac. In that elevated and rugged region a remarkable campaign was made. It was not remarkable because of hard fighting, for there was no pitched battle; but because in this campaign the Confederates were checked in their purpose of re-conquering the ground lost by Garnett and of extending their conquest north and west. This campaign has also an historical interest because it was General Lee's first work in the field after he had been assigned the command of Virginia's land and sea forces. The outcome of the campaign was not what might be expected of a great and calculating general as Lee was. Although he had a larger army than his opponents in the field, and had at least as good ground, and although he was able to hold his own at every skirmish, yet, as the campaign progressed he constantly fell back. In September he fought at Elkwater and Cheat Mountain, in Randolph County; in October he fought at Greenbrier river, having fallen back from his first position. In December he had fallen back to the summit of the Alleghanies, and fought a battle there. It should be stated, however, that General Lee, although in command of the army, took part in person only in the skirmishing in Randolph County. The importance of this campaign entitles it to mention somewhat more in detail.

General Reynolds succeeded General McClellan in command of this part of West Virginia. He advanced from Beverly to Huttonsville, a few miles above, and remained in peaceful possession of the country two months after Garnett's retreat, except that his scouting parties were constantly annoyed by Confederate irregulars, or guerrillas, usually called bushwhackers. Their mode of attack was, to lie concealed on the summits of cliffs, overhanging the roads or in thickets on the hillside, and fire upon the Union soldiers passing below. They were justly dreaded by the Union troops. These bushwhackers were usually citizens of that district who had

taken to the woods after their well-known southern sympathies had rendered it unsafe or unpleasant to remain at home while the country was occupied by the Union armies. They were excellent marksmen, minutely acquainted with all the ins and outs of the mountains and woods; and, from their manner of attack and flight, it was seldom that they were captured or killed. They hid about the outposts of the Union armies; picked off sentinels; waylaid scouts; ambushed small detachments, and fled to their mountain fastnesses where pursuit was out of the question. A war is considered severe in loss of life in which each soldier, taken as an average, kills one soldier on the other side, even though the war is prolonged for years. Yet, these bushwhackers often killed a dozen or more each, before being themselves killed. It can be readily understood why small detachments dreaded bushwhackers more than Confederate troops in pitched battle. Nor did the bushwhackers confine their attacks to small parties. They often fired into the ranks of armies on the march with deadly effect. While in the mountains of West Virginia General Averell's cavalry often suffered severely from these hidden guerrillas who fired and vanished. The bushwhacking was not always done by Confederates. Union soldiers or sympathisers resorted to it also at times.

General Reynolds, with headquarters at Beverly, spent the summer of 1861 in strengthening his position, and in attempting to clear the country of guerrillas. Early in September he received information that large numbers of Confederates were crossing the Alleghanies. General Loring established himself at Huntersville, in Pocahontas County, with 8500 men. He it was who had tried in vain to raise recruits in West Virginia for the Confederacy, even attempting to gain a foothold in Wheeling before McClellan's army crossed the Ohio River. He had gone to Richmond, and early in September had returned with an army. General H. R. Jackson was in command of another Confederate force of 6000 at Greenbrier River where the pike from Beverly to Staunton crosses that stream, in Pocahontas County. General Robert E. Lee was sent by the Government at Richmond to take command of both these armies, and he lost no time in doing so. No order sending General Lee into West Virginia has ever been found among the records of the Confederate Government. It was probably a verbal order, or he may have gone without any order. He concentrated his force at Big Spring, on Valley Mountain, and prepared to march north to the Baltimore and Ohio Road at Grafton. His design was nothing less than to drive the Union army out of northwestern Virginia. When the matter is viewed in the light of subsequent history, it is to be wondered at that General Lee did not succeed in his purpose. He had 14500 men, and only 9000 were opposed to him. Had he defeated General Reynolds; driven his army back; occupied Grafton, Clarksburg and other towns, it can be readily seen that the seat of war might have been changed to West Virginia. The United States Government would have sent an army to oppose Lee; and the Confederate Government would have pushed strong reinforcements across the mountains; and some of the great battles of the war might have been fought on the Monongahela river. The campaign in the fall of 1861, about the head waters of the principle rivers of West Virginia, therefore, derives its chief interest, not from battles, but from the accomplishment of a great purpose—the driving back of the Confederates—without a pitched battle. Virginia, as a State, made no determined effort after that to hold Western Virginia. By that time the campaign in the Kanawha Valley was

drawing to a close and the Confederates were retiring. Consequently, Virginia's and the Southern Confederacy's efforts west of the Alleghanies in this State were defeated in the fall of 1861.

General Reynolds sent a regiment to Elkwater, and soon afterwards occupied Cloud Mountain. This point was the highest camp occupied by soldiers during the war. The celebrated "Battle Above the Clouds," on Lookout Mountain, was not one-half so high. The whole region, including parts of Pocahontas, Pendleton and Randolph Counties, has an elevation above three thousand feet, while the summits of the knobs and ridges rise to heights of more than four thousand, and some nearly five thousand feet. General Reynolds fortified his two advanced positions, Elkwater and Cheat Mountain. They were seven miles apart, connected by only a bridle path, but a circuitous wagon road, eighteen miles long, led from one to the other, passing around in the direction of Huttonsville. No sooner had the United States troops established themselves at Elkwater and Cheat Mountain than General Lee advanced, and skirmishing began. The Confederates threw a force between Elkwater and Cheat Mountain, and posted another force on the road in the direction of Huttonsville. They were attacked, and for three days there was skirmishing, but no general engagement. On September 13 Colonel John A. Washington, in the Confederate service, was killed near Elkwater. He was a relative of President Washington, and also a relative General R. E. Lee, whose family and the Washingtons were closely connected. General Lee sent a flag of truce and asked for the body. It was sent to the Confederate lines on September 14. That day the Confederates concentrated ten miles from Elkwater, and the next day again advanced, this time threatening Cheat Mountain, but their attack was unsuccessful. In this series of skirmishes the Union forces had lost nine killed, fifteen wounded and about sixty prisoners. The result was a defeat for the Confederates, who were thwarted in their design of penetrating northward and westward. The failure of the Confederates to bring on a battle was due to their different detachments not acting in concert. It was Lee's plan to attack both positions at the same time. He sent detachments against Elkwater and Cheat Mountain. The sound of cannon attacking one position was to be the signal for attacking the other. The troops marched in rain and mud, along paths and in the woods, and when they found them across in front of the Federal position, the detachment which was to have begun the attack failed to do so. The other detachment waited in vain for the signal, and then retreated. General Lee was much hurt by the failure of his plan.*

General Loring's army of 8,500, which was camped at Huntersville, in Pocahontas County, was sent to that place for a particular purpose. He was to sweep round toward the west, then march north toward Weston and Clarksburg, strike the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and by threatening or cutting off General Reynolds' line of communication with his base of supplies, compel him to fall back. This plan was General Lee's. He left its execution to General Loring, who moved slowly, halted often, camped long, hesitated frequently, and consumed much valuable time. His men became sick. Rain made progress difficult, and he did not seem in a hurry to get along. General Lee waited but Loring still failed to march. He was an able officer than Lee, and although Lee had a right to order him forward,

* See H. A. White's Life of Robert E. Lee.

he restrained from doing so for fear of wounding Loring's feelings. The time for executing the movement passed, and the flank movement, which probably would have succeeded, was given up.

The Confederates were not yet willing to abandon West Virginia. They fell back to the Greenbrier River, thirteen miles from the Union camp, on Cheat Mountain, and fortified their position. They were commanded by General H. R. Jackson, and their number was believed to be about nine thousand. On October 8, 1861, General Reynolds advanced at the head of five thousand troops. During the first part of the engagement the Union forces were successful, driving the Confederates nearly a mile, but here several batteries of artillery were encountered, and reinforcements arriving to the support of the Confederates, the battle was renewed and General Reynolds was forced to fall back, with a loss of nine killed and thirty-five wounded. On December 10 General Reynolds was transferred to other fields, and the command of the Union forces in the Cheat Mountain district was given to General R. H. Milroy. Within three days after he assumed command he moved forward to attack the Confederate camp on the summit of the Alleghanies. The Confederates had gone into winter quarters there; and as the weather was severe, and as the Union forces appeared satisfied to hold what they had without attempting any additional conquests in mid-winter, the Confederates were not expecting an attack. However, on December 13, 1861, General Milroy moved forward and assaulted their position. The fighting was severe for several hours, and finally resulted in the retreat of the Union forces. The Confederates made no attempt to follow. General Milroy marched to Huntersville, in Pocahontas county, and went into winter quarters. The Rebels remained on the summit of the Alleghanies till spring and then went over the mountains, out of West Virginia, thus ending the attempt to re-conquer northwestern Virginia.

It now remains to be seen what success attended the efforts of the Confederates to gain control of the Kanawha Valley. Their campaign in West Virginia for the year 1861 was divided into two parts, in the northwest and in the Kanawha Valley. General Henry A. Wise was ordered to the Kanawha June 6, two days before General Garnett was ordered to take command of the troops which had been driven south from Grafton. Colonel Tompkins was already on the Kanawha in charge of Confederate forces. The authorities at Richmond at that time believed that a General, with the nucleus of an army in the Kanawha Valley, could raise all the troops necessary among the people there. On April 29 General Lee had ordered Major John McCassland to the Kanawha to organize companies for the Confederacy. Only five hundred flint-lock muskets could be had at that time to arm the troops in that quarter. General Lee suggested that the valley could be held by posting the force below Charleston. Very poor success attended the efforts at raising volunteers, and the arms found in the district were insufficient to equip the men. Supplies were sent as soon as possible from Virginia.

When General Wise arrived and had collected all his forces he had 8,000 men, of whom 2,000 were militia from Raleigh, Fayette and Mercer Counties. With these he was expected to occupy the Kanawha Valley, and resist invasion should Union forces attempt to penetrate that part of the State. General John B. Floyd, who had been Secretary of War under President Buchanan, was guarding the railroad leading from Richmond into Tennessee, and was posted south of the present limits of West Virginia, but

within supporting distance of General Wise. In case a Union army invaded the Kanawha Valley it was expected that General Floyd would unite his forces with those of General Wise, and that they would act in concert if not in communion. General Floyd was the older officer, and in case their forces were consolidated he would be the commander in-chief. But General Floyd and General Wise were enemies. Their hatred for the Yankees was less than their hatred for each other. They were both Virginia politicians, and they had crossed each other's paths too often in the past to be reconciled now. General Lee tried in vain to induce them to work in harmony. They both fought the Union troops bravely, but never in concert. When Wise was in front of General Cox, General Floyd was elsewhere. When Floyd was pitted in battle against General Rosecrans, General Wise was absent. Thus the Union troops beat these quarreling Virginia Brigadier Generals in detail, as will be seen in the following narrative of the campaign during the summer and fall of 1861 in the Kanawha Valley.

When Generals Wise and Floyd were sent to their districts in the West it was announced in their camps that they would march to Clarkshurg, Parkersburg and Wheeling. This would have brought them in conflict with General McClellan's army. On July 2 McClellan put troops in motion against the Confederates in the Kanawha Valley. On that date he appointed General J. D. Cox to the command of regiments from Kentucky and Ohio, and ordered him to cross the Ohio at Gallipolis and take possession of Point Pheasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha. On July 23 General Rosecrans succeeded McClellan in command of the Department of Ohio. Rosecrans pushed the preparation for a vigorous campaign, which had already been commenced. He styled the troops under General Cox the Brigade of Kanawha. On July 17, in Putnam County, a fight occurred between detachments of Union and Confederate forces, in which the latter appeared for the time victorious, but soon retreated eastward. From that time until September 10 there was constant skirmishing between the armies, the advantage being sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; but the Union forces constantly advanced and the Confederates fell back. On August 1 General Wise was in Greenbrier County, and in a report made to General Lee on that date, he says he fell back not a moment too soon. He complained that his militia were worthless as soldiers, and urged General Lee to send him guns and other arms, and clothing and shoes, as his men were ragged and barefooted. On August 20 General Rosecrans was at Clarkshurg preparing to go in person to lead reinforcements into the Kanawha. He issued a proclamation to the people of West Virginia, calling on them to obey the laws, maintain order and co-operate with the military in its efforts to drive the armed Confederates from the State.

Prior to that time Colonel E. H. Tyler, with a Federal force, had advanced to the Gauley River, and on August 13 he took up a position at Cross Lanes. He thus covered Carnifex Ferry. General Cox was at that time on the Gauley River, twenty miles lower down, near the mouth of that stream, nearly forty miles above Charleston. General Floyd advanced, and on August 20 crossed the Gauley at Carnifex Ferry with 2,500 men, and fell upon Colonel Tyler at Cross Lanes with such suddenness that the Union troops were routed, with fifteen killed and fifty wounded. The latter fell into the hands of the Confederates, who took fifty other prisoners also. The remainder of Tyler's force made its retreat to Charleston, and General Floyd fortified the position just gained and prepared to hold it. On Sep-

tember 3 General Wise made an attack on General Cox at Gauley Bridge, near the mouth of the river, twenty miles below Carnifex Ferry. The attack failed. The Confederates were beaten and were vigorously pursued. Had Wise held Gauley Bridge, Floyd already being in possession of Carnifex Ferry, they would have been in positions to dispute the further advance of the Union forces up the Kanawha Valley.

General Rosecrans left Clarkshurg September 3, with reinforcements, and after a march of seven days reached Carnifex Ferry, and that same evening began an attack upon the Confederates under General Floyd, who were entrenched on top of a mountain on the west bank of the Gauley River, in Nicholas County. General Floyd had about 4000 men and sixteen cannon, and his position was so well protected by woods, that assault, with chance of success, was considered exceedingly difficult. He had fortified this naturally strong position, and felt confident that it could not be captured by any force the Union general could bring against him. The fight began late in the afternoon, General Rosecrans having marched seventeen miles that day. It was not his purpose to bring on a general engagement that afternoon, and he directed his forces to advance cautiously and find where the enemy lay: for the position of the Confederates was not yet known. While thus advancing a camp was found in the woods, from which the Confederates had evidently fled in haste. Military stores and private property were scattered in confusion. From this fact it was supposed that the enemy was in retreat, and the Union troops pushed on through thickets and over ridges. Presently they discovered that they had been mistaken. They were fired upon by the Confederate army in line of battle. From that hour until darkness put a stop to the fighting, the battle continued. The Union troops had not been able to carry any of the Rebel works; and General Rosecrans withdrew his men for the night, prepared to renew the battle next morning. But during the night General Floyd retreated. He had grown doubtful of his ability to hold out if the attack was resumed with the same impetuosity as on the preceding evening. But he was more fearful that the Union troops would cut off his retreat if he remained. So, while it was yet time, he withdrew in the direction of Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County, destroying the bridge over the Gauley, and also the ferry across that stream. General Rosecrans was unable to pursue because he could not cross the river. It is a powerful, turbulent stream, and at this place flows several miles down a deep gorge, filled with rocks and cataracts. Among spoils which fell into the hands of the victors was General Floyd's hospital, in which were fifty wounded Union soldiers who had been captured when Colonel Tyler was driven from this same place on August 26. General Rosecrans lost seventeen killed and one hundred and forty-one wounded. The Confederate loss was never ascertained.

After a rest of a few days the Union army advanced to Big Sewell Mountain. The weather was wet, and the roads became so muddy that it was almost impossible to haul supplies over them. For this reason it was deemed advisable to fall back. On October 3 General Rosecrans began to withdraw his forces to Gauley Bridge, and in the course of two weeks had transferred his command to that place, where he had water communication with his base of supplies.

On November 10 another action was fought between General Floyd and General Rosecrans, in which the Confederates were defeated. This virtually closed the campaign for the year 1861 in that quarter, and resulted in

the occupation of all the lower Kanawha Valley and the greater part of the upper Valley. The Confederates were finally driven out, and never again obtained a foothold in that part of the State, although large bodies were at times in the Valley of the Kanawha, and occasionally remained a considerable time.

The Confederate Government, and the State of Virginia as a member of that Government, had an object in view when they sent their forces into West Virginia at the commencement of the Civil War. Virginia as a State was interested in retaining the territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Ohio River and did not believe she could do so without force and arms, because her long neglect and opposition had alienated the western counties. Virginia correctly judged that they would seize the first opportunity and organize a separate State. To prevent them from doing so, and to retain that large part of her domain lying west of the Alleghanies, were the chief motives which prompted Virginia, as a State, to invade the western part of her own territory, even before open war was acknowledged to exist between the Southern Confederacy and the United States Government. The purpose which prompted the Southern Confederacy to push troops across the Alleghanies in such haste was to obtain possession of the country to the borders of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and to fortify the frontiers against invasion from the north and west. It was well understood at the headquarters of the Southern Confederacy that the thousands of soldiers already mustering beyond the Ohio River, and the tens of thousands who would no doubt soon take the field in the same quarter, would speedily cross the Ohio, unless prevented. The bold move which the South undertook was to make the borders of Ohio and Pennsylvania the battle ground. The southern leaders did not at that time appreciate the magnitude of the war which was at hand. If they had understood it, and had had a military man in the place of Jefferson Davis, it is probable that the battle ground would have been different from what it was. Consequently, to rightly understand the early movements of the Confederates in West Virginia, it is necessary to consider that their purpose was to hold the country to the Ohio river. Their effort was weak, to be sure, but that was partly due to their miscalculation as to the assistance they would receive from the people of West Virginia. If they could have organized an army of forty thousand West Virginians and reinforced them with as many more men from the South, it can be readily seen that McClellan could not have crossed the Ohio as he did. But the scheme failed. The West Virginians not only would not enlist in the Confederate army, but they enlisted in the opposing force; and when Garnett made his report from Laurel Hill he told General Lee that, for all the help he received from the people, he might as well carry on a campaign in a foreign country. From that time it was regarded by the Confederates as the enemy's country; and when, later in the war, Jones, Jackson, Imboden and others made raids into West Virginia, they acted toward persons and property in the same way as when raids were made in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, crossing West Virginia from Harper's Ferry to Wheeling, and from Grafton to Parkersburg, was considered of the utmost importance by both the North and the South. It was so near the boundary between what was regarded as the Southern Confederacy and the North that during the early part of the war neither the one side nor the other felt sure of holding it. The management of the road was in sym-

thy with the North, but an effort was made to so manage the property as not to give cause for hostility on the part of the South. At one time the trains were run in accordance with a time table prepared by Stonewall Jackson, even as far as Locust Point.* It was a part of the Confederate scheme in West Virginia to obtain possession and control, in a friendly way if possible, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The possession of it would not only help the Confederacy in a direct way, but it would cripple the Federal Government and help the South in an indirect way. Within six days after General Lee was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia armies he instructed Major Loring, at Wheeling, to direct his military operations for the protection of the terminus of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on the Ohio River, and also to protect the road elsewhere. Major Boykin was ordered to give protection to the road in the vicinity of Grafton. General Lee insisted that the peaceful business of the road must not be interfered with. The branch to Parkersburg was also to be protected. Major Boykin was told to "hold the road for the benefit of Maryland and Virginia." He was advised to obtain the co-operation of the officers of the road and afford them every assistance. When Colonel Porterfield was ordered to Grafton, on May 4, 1861, among the duties marked out for him by General Lee was the holding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and to prevent its being used to the injury of Virginia.

No one has ever supposed that the Southern Confederacy wanted the Baltimore and Ohio Road protected because of any desire to befriend that company. The leaders of the Confederacy knew that the officers of the road were not friendly to secession. As soon as Western Virginia had slipped out of the grasp of the Confederacy, and when the railroad could no longer help the South to realize its ambition of fortifying the banks of the Ohio, the Confederacy threw off the mask and came out in open hostility. George Doss, Inspector General of the Confederate Army, urged that the railroad be destroyed, bridges burned along the line, and the tunnels west of the Alleghanies blown up so that no troops could be carried east from the Ohio River to the Potomac. This advice was partly carried out by a raid from Romney on June 19, 1861, after Colonel Porterfield had retreated from Grafton and had been driven from Philippi. But the damage to the road was not great and repairs were speedily made. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, had recommended to the Legislature a short time before, that the Baltimore and Ohio Road ought to be destroyed. He said: "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has been a positive nuisance to this State, from the opening of the war till the present time. And unless the management shall hereafter be in friendly hands, and the government under which it exists be a part of our Confederacy, it must be stated. If it should be permanently destroyed we must assure our people of some other communication with the seaboard."[†] From that time till the close of the war the Confederacy inflicted every damage possible upon the road, and in many instances the damage was enormous.

When General Garnett established himself in Randolph and Barbour Counties, in June, 1861, he made an elaborate plan of attack on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He intended to take possession of Evansville, in Preston County, and using that as a base, destroy east and west. The high

* See the History of the War, by General John R. Frémont.
† Records of the Rebellion.

trestles along the face of Laurel Hill, west of Rowlesburg, and the bridge across Cheat River at Rowlesburg, and the long tunnel at Tunnelton were selected for the first and principal destruction. General Garnett had the road from Rowlesburg up Cheat River to St. George surveyed with a view to widening and improving it, thereby making of it a military road by which he could advance or fall back, in case the road from Beverly to Evansville should be threatened. General Imboden twice made dashes over the Alleghanies at the head of Cheat River and struck for the Rowlesburg trestles, but each time fell back when he reached St. George. In the spring of 1862, when the great raid into West Virginia was made under Jones, Imboden and Jackson, every possible damage was done the Baltimore and Ohio Road, but again the Rowlesburg trestles escaped, although the Confederates approached within two miles of them.

It is proper to state here that an effort was made, after fighting had commenced, to win the West Virginians over to the cause of the South by promising them larger privileges than they had ever before enjoyed. On June 14, 1861, Governor Letcher issued a proclamation, which was published at Huttonsville, in Randolph County, and addressed to the people of Northwestern Virginia. In this proclamation he promised them that the injustice from unequal taxation of which they had complained in the past, should exist no longer. He said that the eastern part of the State had expressed a willingness to relinquish exemptions from taxation, which it had been enjoying, and was willing to share all the burdens of government. The Governor promised that in state affairs, the majority should rule; and he called upon the people beyond the Alleghanies, in the name of past friendship and of historic memories, to espouse the cause of the Southern Confederacy. It is needless to state that this proclamation fell flat. The people of Western Virginia would have hailed with delight a prospect of redress of grievances, had it come earlier. But its coming was so long delayed that they doubted both the sincerity of those who made the promise and their ability to fulfill. Twenty thousand soldiers had already crossed the Ohio, and had penetrated more than half way from the river to the Alleghanies, and they had been joined by thousands of Virginians. It was a poor time for Governor Letcher to appeal to past memories or to promise justice in the future which had been denied in the past. Coming as the promise did at that time, it looked like a death-bed repentance. The Southern Confederacy had postponed fortifying the bank of the Ohio until too late; and Virginia had held out the olive branch to her neglected and long-suffering people beyond the mountains when it was too late. They had already cast their lot with the North; and already a powerful army had crossed the Ohio to their assistance. Virginia's day of dominion west of the Alleghanies was nearing its close; and the Southern Confederacy's hope of empire there was already doomed.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR.*

In this chapter will be given an outline of the progress of the Civil War on the soil of West Virginia or immediately affecting the State. As there were more than three hundred battles and skirmishes within the limits of the State, and numerous scouts, raids and campaigns, it will be possible in the brief space of one chapter to give little more than the date of each, with a word of explanation or description. In former chapters the history of the opening of the war and accounts of the leading campaigns have been given. It yet remains to present in their chronological sequence the events of greater or lesser importance which constitute the State's war record.

1861.

April 17. The Ordinance of Secession was adopted by the Virginia Convention at Richmond.

April 18. Harper's Ferry was abandoned by the Federal troops. Lieutenant Roger Jones, the commandant, learning that more than two thousand Virginia troops were advancing to attack him, set fire to the United States armory and machine shops and retreated into Pennsylvania. Fifteen minutes after he left Harper's Ferry the Virginia forces arrived.

April 23. General Robert E. Lee assigned to the command of Virginia's land and naval forces.

April 27. Colonel T. J. Jackson assigned to the command of the Virginia forces at Harper's Ferry.

May 1. Governor Letcher calls out the Virginia militia.

May 3. Additional forces called for by the Governor of Virginia. The call was disregarded by nearly all the counties west of the Alleghanies.

May 4. Colonel George A. Porterfield assigned to the command of all the Confederate forces in Northwestern Virginia.

May 10. General Robert E. Lee assigned to the command of the forces of the Confederate States serving in Virginia.

May 13. General George B. McClellan assigned to the command of the Department of the Ohio, embracing West Virginia.

May 14. The Confederates at Harper's Ferry seized a train of cars.

May 15. General Joseph E. Johnston assigned to the command of Confederate troops near Harper's Ferry.

May 22. Bailey Brown was killed by a Confederate picket at Fetter-

*This chapter is compiled chiefly from the Records of the Rebellion, published by the United States War Department. A few of the facts are from the West Virginia Adjutant General's Reports for 1861 and 1862, but a small number from other sources. The reports of officers, both Federal and Confederate, have been consulted in arriving at conclusions as to numbers engaged, the losses and the victory or defeat of

man, Taylor County. Brown was the first enlisted man of the United States volunteer service killed in the war.

May 26. Federal forces from beyond the Ohio and those about Wheeling began to move against Grafton where Confederates, under Colonel Porterfield, had established themselves.

May 27. Captain Christian Roberts was killed by Federals under Lieutenant West, in a skirmish at Glover's Gap, between Wheeling and Fairmont. Captain Roberts was the first armed Confederate soldier killed in the war.

May 30. Grafton was occupied by Federal forces, the Confederates having retreated to Philippi.

June 3. Fight at Philippi and retreat of the Confederates into Randolph County.

June 6. Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise was sent to the Kanawha Valley to collect troops for the Confederacy.

June 8. General R. S. Garnett superseded Colonel Porterfield in command of Confederate forces in West Virginia.

June 10. A Federal force was sent from Rowlesburg to St. George, in Tucker County, capturing a lieutenant and two Confederate flags.

June 14. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, published at Huttonsville, Randolph County, a proclamation to the people west of the Alleghanies, urging them to stand by Virginia in its Secession, and promising them, if they would do so, that the wrongs of which they had so long complained should exist no more, and that the western counties should no longer be dominated over by the powerful eastern counties.

June 19. Skirmish near Keyser. Confederates under Colonel John C. Vaughn advanced from Romney and burned Bridge No. 21 on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and defeated the Cumberland Home Guards, capturing two small cannon.

June 23. Skirmish between Federals and Confederates at Righter's.

June 26. Skirmish on Patterson Creek, Hampshire County, in which Richard Ashby was killed by thirteen Federals under Corporal David Hays.

June 29. Skirmish at Hamlinsville, in Tucker County, in which Lieutenant Robert McChesney was killed by Federals under Captain Miller.

July 2. Fight at Falling Waters, near Martinsburg. Colonel John C. Starkweather defeated Stonewall Jackson. This was Jackson's first skirmish in the Civil War.

July 4. Skirmish at Harper's Ferry. Federals under Lieutenant Galbraith were fired upon from opposite bank of the river. The Federals fell back with a loss of 4.

July 6. The forces under McClellan which were advancing upon Rich Mountain encountered Confederate outposts at Middle Fork Bridge, eighteen miles west of Beverly. The Federals fell back.

July 7. The Federals drove the Confederates from Middle Fork Bridge.

July 7. Skirmish at Glenville, Gilmer County.

July 8. Skirmish at Bellington, Harbour County. General Morris with the left wing of McClellan's army attempted to dislodge the Confederates from the woods in the rear of the village, and was repulsed, losing 2 killed and 10 wounded.

July 11. Battle of Rich Mountain. The Confederates under Colonel Pegram were defeated by General Rosecrans.

July 12. General Garnett, with 4,585 Confederates, retreated from Laurel Hill through Tucker County, pursued by General Morris with 8,000 men.

July 12. Beverly was occupied by McClellan's forces, and a Confederate force, under Colonel Scott, retreated over Cheat Mountain toward Staunton.

July 13. Colonel Pegram surrendered six miles from Beverly to McClellan's army.

July 13. Battle of Corrick's Ford, in Tucker County. Garnett was killed and his army routed by Federals under General Morris.

July 13. General Lew Wallace with a Federal force advanced from Keyser and captured Romney.

July 15. Harper's Ferry was evacuated by the Confederates.

July 16. Skirmish at Barboursville, Cabell County. The Confederates were defeated.

July 17. Scarry Creek skirmish. Colonel Patton, with 1200 Confederates, defeated an equal number of Federals under Colonel Norton.

July 20. General W. W. Loring was placed in command of the Confederate forces in Northwestern Virginia.

August 1. General R. E. Lee was sent to take command of Confederate forces in West Virginia.

August 11. General John B. Floyd took command of Confederate troops in the Kanawha Valley.

August 13. A Federal force was sent from Grafton into Tucker County, capturing 15 prisoners, 90 guns, 150 horses and cattle and 15000 rounds of ammunition.

August 25. The Confederates were defeated in a skirmish at Piggott's Mill.

August 26. Fight at Cross Lanes, near Summerville. While the Federals were eating breakfast they were attacked and defeated by General Floyd.

September 1. Skirmish at Blue Creek.

September 2. Skirmish near Hawk's Nest in Fayette County. General Wise with 1,250 men attacked the Federals of equal force, but was repulsed.

September 10. Battle of Carnifex Ferry.

September 12. Skirmish at Cheat Mountain Pass, near Huttonsville. The Confederates under General Lee were repulsed in their attempt to fall upon the rear of the Federals.

September 13. Fight on Cheat Mountain. The Confederates were defeated. General Lee was foiled in his attempt on Elk Water.

September 14. Second skirmish at Elk Water. The Confederates were again unsuccessful.

September 15. The Confederates again were foiled in their attempt to advance to the summit of Cheat Mountain.

September 16. Skirmish at Princeton, Mercer County.

September 24. Skirmish at Hanging Rocks, in Hampshire County. The Federals were defeated.

September 24. Skirmish at Mechanicsburg Gap, Hampshire County. The Federals were defeated.

September 25. Colonel Cantwell defeated the Confederates under Colonel Angus McDonald and captured Romney, but was afterwards forced to retreat.

September 27. Captain Isaiah Hall was defeated by Confederate guerrillas at High Log Cabin Run, Wirt County.

October 3. Fight at Greenbrier River. The Federals were repulsed after severe fighting, but the Confederates fell back to the summit of the Alleghanies.

October 16. Skirmish near Bolivar Heights. About 500 Confederates under Turner Ashby attacked 600 Federals under Colonel John W. Geary. The Confederates were defeated.

October 19. There was skirmishing on New River, with various results.

October 23. Skirmishing on the Gauley between detachments of Federals and Confederates.

October 23. Colonel J. N. Clarkson, with a raiding force of Confederates, unsuccessfully attacked a steamer on the Kanawha.

October 26. Colonel Alexander Monroe, with 27 Hampshire County militia, attacked and defeated a large Federal force at Wire Bridge, on South Branch of the Potomac.

October 26. General Kelley with 3,000 Federals defeated Colonel McDonald's militia and captured Romney.

November 1. Commencement of a series of skirmishes for three days near Gauley Bridge.

November 10. Skirmishes at Blake's Farm and Cotton Hill, with attendant movements, occupying two days.

November 10. Fight at Guyandotte. J. C. Wheeler, with 150 recruits, was surprised and cut to pieces by Confederate raiders under J. N. Clarkson. Among the Union prisoners was Uriah Payne, of Ohio, who was the first to plant the United States flag on the walls of Monterey, Mexico. Troops soon crossed to Guyandotte from Ohio and the Rebels retreated. A portion of the town was burned by the Federals.

November 12. Skirmish on Laurel Creek.

November 14. Skirmish near McCoy's Mill.

November 30. A detachment of Union troops was attacked by guerrillas on the South Branch, above Romney. The Federals retreated, with three wounded and a loss of six horses.

November 30. Skirmish near the mouth of Little Capon, in Morgan County. Captain Dyche defeated the Rebels.

December 13. Battle at Camp Allegany. The Federals were defeated with a loss of 187 in killed and wounded.

December 15. Major E. B. Andrews set out on an expedition of six days to Meadow Bluff; defeated the Confederate skirmishers and captured a large amount of property.

December 28. Union forces occupied the county seat of Raleigh.

December 29. Sutton, Braxton County, was captured by 185 Rebels. The Union troops under Captain Rawland retreated to Weston. The Confederates burned a portion of the town.

December 30. Expedition into Webster County by 400 Union troops under Captain Anisansel. He pursued the Confederates who had burned Sutton; overtook them at Glades; defeated them; killed 22 and burned 29 houses believed to belong to Rebel bushwhackers.

1862.

January 3. Fight at Bath, in Morgan county, continuing two days. The Confederates under Stonewall Jackson victorious.

January 3. Major George Webster, with 700 Union troops, marched from Huttonsville to Huntersville, in Pocahontas County, drove out 250 Confederates, captured and destroyed military stores worth \$30,000. These were the first Federals in Huntersville.

January 4. Skirmish at Sir John's Run, Morgan County. The fight continued late into the night. The Federals retreated.

January 4. Skirmish at Slanesville, Hampshire County. A squad of Union troops under Captain Sauls was ambushed and routed. Captain Sauls was wounded and taken prisoner. The Confederates were under Captain Isaac Kykendall.

January 5. On or about January 5 the village of Frenchburg, six miles from Romney, was burned by order of General Lander on the charge that the people harbored Rebel bushwhackers.

January 5. Big Capon Bridge, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was destroyed by Confederates under Stonewall Jackson.

January 7. Fight at Blue's Gap, Hampshire County, in which the Confederates were defeated and lost two cannon—the same guns captured at Bridge No. 21 by the Confederates, June 19, 1861.

January 10. The Federal troops evacuated Romney.

January 11. Romney occupied by troops under Stonewall Jackson.

January 14. The seat of Logan County was burned by Union troops under Colonel R. Siber.

January 31. Confederates evacuated Romney by order of the Secretary of War of the Confederate States.

January 31. Stonewall Jackson, indignant at the interference with his plans by the Secretary of War, in recalling troops from Romney, tendered his resignation. He was persuaded by Governor Letcher, General Johnston and others to recall it.

February 2. Confederates at Springfield, Hampshire County, were defeated by General Lander.

February 8. Skirmish at the mouth of Blue Stone. Colonel William E. Peters, with 225 Confederates, was attacked by an equal force. The Federals retreated.

February 12. Fight at Moorefield, in which the Confederates retreated.

February 14. Confederates driven from Bloomery Gap, in Morgan County.

February 16. The Union troops were defeated at Bloomery Gap and compelled to retreat.

February 23. The Patterson Creek Bridge, in Mineral County, was burned by Rebel guerrillas.

March 3. Skirmish at Martinsburg.

April 12. Raid from Fairmont to Boothville by Captain J. H. Showalter, who was ordered by General Kelley to capture or kill John Righter, John Anderson, David Barker, Brice Welsh, John Lewis, John Knight and Washington Smith, who were agents sent by Governor Letcher into northwestern Virginia to raise recruits for the Confederacy. Captain Showalter killed three men of Righter's company.

April 17. Defeat of the Webster County guerrillas, known as Dare Devils, by Major E. B. Andrews, who marched from Humperville to Ashville with 250 Federals. There were several skirmishes between April 17 and April 21. Several houses belonging to the guerrillas were burned.

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April 18. An expedition was sent by General Schenck to clear the North Fork and Seneca in Pendleton County of Rebel bushwhackers.

April 18. Colonel T. M. Harris skirmished with Rebel bushwhackers in Webster County, killing 5 and burning 5 houses.

April 25. Skirmish at Grassy Lick, in Hampshire County. Confederate bushwhackers under Captain Umbaugh, who held a commission from Governor Letcher, concealed themselves in the house of Peter Poling and fired upon Colonel S. W. Downey's scouting party, killing three. Troops were sent from Romney and Moorefield and burned the house, after mortally wounding its owner.

May 1. Lieutenant Fitzhugh with 200 Federals was attacked near Princeton, Mercer County, and fought thirteen hours while retreating 23 miles, losing 1 killed, 12 wounded.

May 1. Skirmish at Camp Creek on Blue Stone River. Lieutenant Bottsford was attacked by 300 Rebels and lost 1 killed and 20 wounded. The Confederates were repulsed with 6 killed.

May 7. Skirmish near Wardensville, Hardy County. Troops under Colonel S. W. Downey attacked Captain Umbaugh a Rebel guerrilla, killing him and 4 of his men, wounding 4 and capturing 12. The fight occurred at the house of John T. Wilson.

May 8. Major B. F. Skinner led a scouting party through Roane and Clay counties from May 8 to May 21, skirmishing with Rebel guerrillas.

May 10. Federal scouts were decoyed into a house near Franklin, Pendleton County, and were set upon by bushwhackers and defeated with one killed. Two days later re-enforcements arrived, killed the owner of the house, and burned the building.

May 15. Fight at Wolf Creek, near New River, between Captain E. Schasche and a squad of Confederates. The latter were defeated with 6 killed, 2 wounded and 8 prisoners.

May 16. The Confederates captured Princeton, Mercer County.

May 16. Skirmish at Wytheville Cross Roads. The Federals were attacked and defeated.

May 17. Federals captured Princeton with 15 prisoners.

May 23. Battle of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County. General Heth with 3000 Confederates attacked the forces of Colonel George Crook, 1300. The Confederates were stampeded and fled in panic, losing 4 cannon, 200 stands of arms, 100 prisoners, 38 killed, 66 wounded. The Union loss was 13 killed 53 wounded.

May 25. Skirmish near Franklin, Pendleton County.

May 29. Fight near Wardensville. Confederates were attacked and defeated with 2 killed, by Colonel Downey.

May 30. A Federal force under Colonel George R. Latham attacked guerrillas on Shaver Fork of Cheat River, defeating them, killing 4 and wounding several.

June 8. Major John J. Hoffman attacked and defeated a squad of Confederate Cavalry at Muddy Creek, near Blue Sulphur Springs, killing 8.

June 24. At Baker's Tavern, Hardy County, Capt. Chas. Farnsworth was fired upon by Rebel bushwhackers. He burned several houses in the vicinity as a warning to the people not to harbor bushwhackers.

June 24. Colonel J. D. Hines started upon a three days scout through Wyoming County. He defeated and dispersed Confederate guerrillas known as Flat Top Copperheads.

July 23. Lieutenant J. W. Miller, at Summerville, was attacked at daybreak by 300 Confederate cavalry and nearly all his men were captured.

August 2. A scouting party of Federals under Captain I. Stough left Meadow Bluff for the Greenbrier river. On August 4, near Haynes Ferry, he was defeated by the Confederates, losing 2 wounded. The Rebels had 5 killed.

August 5. Federals under Lieutenant Wantzer invaded Wyoming County. In a fight at the county seat he was defeated with a loss of 19 missing.

August 6. Rebels attacked Pack's Ferry, near the mouth of Blue Stone, and were driven off by Major Comly. The Confederates, 900 in number, were commanded by Colonel G. C. Wharton.

August 7. Rebel cavalry was defeated in a skirmish at Horse Pen Creek.

August 14. General John D. Imboden, with 300 Confederates, set out from Franklin, Pendleton County, on a raid to Rowlesburg to destroy the railroad bridge across Cheat River. His advance was discovered and he did not venture beyond St. George, in Tucker County, where he robbed the postoffice and set out on his retreat.

August 18. Skirmish near Corrick's Ford, in Tucker County, between Federal scouts and Confederates under Captain George Imboden.

August 22. The Confederate General, A. J. Jenkins, with 550 men, set out from Salt Sulphur Springs, in Monroe county, on an extensive raid. He passed through Greenbrier and Pocahontas Counties into Randolph, through Upshur, Lewis, Gilmer, Roane, Jackson, crossed the Ohio, and returned through the Kanawha Valley, marching 500 miles, capturing 300 prisoners and destroying the public records in many counties.

August 30. The Confederates under General Jenkins captured Buckhannon after the small Federal garrison fled. He secured and destroyed large quantities of military stores, including 5,000 stands of arms. He had intended to attack Beverly, but feared his force was too small. He crossed Bush Mountain to the head of the Buckhannon River, traveling 30 miles through an almost pathless forest and fell on Buckhannon by surprise.

August 31. Weston, in Lewis County, was captured by Confederates under General Jenkins.

September 1. General Jenkins captured Glenville, Gilmer County, the Federal garrison retreating after firing once.

September 2. Colonel J. C. Rathbone, with a Federal force stationed at Spencer, Boone County, surrendered to General Jenkins without a fight.

September 3. At Ripley, in Jackson County, General Jenkins captured \$6,000 belonging to the United States Government. The Union soldiers stationed at the town retreated as the Confederates approached.

September 11. General W. W. Loring, with a strong force of Confederates, having invaded the Kanawha Valley, attacked the Federal troops under General J. A. J. Lightburn at Fayetteville and routed them. This was the beginning of an extensive Confederate raid which swept the Union troops out of the Kanawha Valley. Military stores to the value of a million dollars fell into the hands of the Rebels, who destroyed what they could not carry away.

September 13. General Lightburn, in his retreat down the Kanawha Valley, was overtaken at Charleston by General Loring and was compelled to abandon large stores in his flight to the Ohio.

September 15. General Loring, at Charleston, issued a proclamation to the people of the Kanawha Valley and neighboring parts of the State, informing them that the armies of the Confederacy had set them free from the danger and oppression of Federal bayonets, and he called on them to rise and maintain their freedom, and support the Government which had brought about their emancipation.

September 20. General Jenkins' forces, having re-crossed the Ohio River into the Kanawha Valley, skirmished with Federals at Point Pleasant.

September 27. Skirmish at Buffalo, twenty miles above Point Pleasant. Colonel John A. Turley attacked and defeated the Confederates, a portion of the force under Jenkins.

September 28. Skirmish at Standing Stone.

September 30. Fight at Glenville. Fifty Federals attacked and defeated 65 Confederate cavalry.

October 1. Fight near Shepherdstown between Federals under General Pleasanton and Confederates under Colonel W. H. F. Lee. Both sides claimed the victory.

October 2. Federals under Captain W. H. Boyd attacked and destroyed General Imboden's camp at Blue's Gap, in Hampshire County.

October 4. Confederates were captured at Blues' Gap.

October 4. General Imboden attacked and defeated the Federal Guard at Little Capon Bridge, in Morgan County and destroyed the bridge.

October 4. The Federal guard at Pawpaw, Morgan County, was captured by Imboden.

October 6. Skirmish at Big Birch.

October 16. General Loring was superseded by General John Echols as commander of Confederate forces in West Virginia.

October 20. Skirmish at Hedgeville.

October 29. Fight near Petersburg, Grant County, between Federals under Lieutenant Quirk and Rebel cattle raiders who were endeavoring to drive stock out of the South Branch Valley. The raiders were defeated, and lost 170 cattle.

October 31. Skirmish near Kanawha Falls.

November 9. Sgt. George, Tucker County, was captured by Imboden together with the garrison of 31 Federals under Captain William Hall. Imboden had set out, November 9, from South Fork, in Pendleton county, to destroy the railroad bridge at Rowlesburg, but learning that troops from Beverly were moving in his rear, he retreated, passing up Glade Fork of Cheat River, through a dense and pathless wilderness. He reached South Fork November 14. He had 310 men, and carried howitzers on mules.

November 9. Skirmish on South Fork. General Kelley moved from Keyser and destroyed Imboden's camp, which he had left in charge of Lieutenant R. L. Doyle while Imboden was absent on his raid toward Rowlesburg.

November 9. Captain G. W. Gilmore with a Federal force invaded Greenbrier County, capturing a wagon train and 9 men. He returned November 11.

November 24. A force of 75 Federals under Captain Cogswell marched from Sharpsburg to Shepherdstown and captured Burke's guerrillas, killing Burke.

November 26. An expedition moved forward under W. H. Powell

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from Summersville to Cold Knob, and with only 20 men defeated the Confederates at Sinking Creek and took 500 prisoners.

December 1. Confederates at Moorefield were defeated with loss of 12 by Lieutenant H. A. Myers with 100 men.

December 11. Lieutenant E. C. Pendergrast with 27 men defeated a detachment of Confederates at Darkesville, Berkeley County.

December 12. In a skirmish near Bunker Hill, Berkeley County, a squad of Federals captured 12 of Ashby's cavalry.

December 22. General Imboden attacked a supply train near Wardensville, Hardy County, capturing it. He lost six men. The Federals lost 20.

December 26. Sixty Confederates under Captain Boyle were defeated by Lieutenant Versailles, with 40 men, at Charlestown.

1863.

January 3. Fight near Moorefield. Federals under Colonel James Wauhburn were attacked by General William E. Jones. A second Union force, under Colonel James Mulligan, advanced from Petersburg, attacked the Confederates in the rear and defeated them.

January 8. Petersburg, Grant County, was occupied by Confederates after it was evacuated by the Federals, who burned military stores to the value of \$20,000, which they could not move.

January 9. A supply train belonging to General Milroy's army was attacked and partly destroyed by Confederates under Captain John H. McNeill, four miles from Moorefield.

January 20. General Lee wrote to Imboden, outlining a policy of war for West Virginia and urged him to carry it out. Among other things, the municipal officers of the Re-organized Government of Virginia, called by Lee "the Pierpont government," were to be captured whenever possible; and Imboden was instructed to "render the position of sheriff as dangerous a position as possible."

January 22. Skirmish in Pocahontas County between Federals under Major E. C. Flesher and Confederates under Colonel Fontaine. Success was equally divided.

February 5. Scout by 70 Federals under Major John McMahan from Camp Pitt through Wyoming County. The men were out three days and nearly froze to death.

February 10. Captain C. T. Ewing left Beverly with a Union force of 125 for a two days' scout through Pocahontas County. He captured 13 prisoners, 15 horses and 135 cattle.

February 12. Skirmish near Smithfield, Jefferson County. A Union scouting party was attacked by Captain R. W. Baylor's cavalry, and lost six men, killed, wounded and captured. Federal reinforcements came up and recaptured the prisoners and captured Lieutenant George Baylor and several men.

February 12. Major John McMahan set out for a four days' scout from Camp Pitt through Boone, Logan and Wyoming Counties. He captured few prisoners.

February 16. Confederate guerrillas captured a wagon train and guard near Romney.

March 2. General John D. Imboden wrote General Lee, outlining his plan for invading West Virginia. The formidable raids under Imboden and Jones in April and May, 1863, were planned by Imboden, and the first men-

tion of the plan to Lee seems to have been in the letter to that General on March 2. There was a three-fold object in view. First, it was designed to destroy as much of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as possible, and Imboden believed he could destroy nearly all of it. Second, he expected to enlist "several thousand" recruits in West Virginia. Third, he wanted to establish Confederate authority in as much of the northwest as possible and retain it long enough to enable the people to take part in the Virginia State election in May. No hint is found in the letter that the Confederates would be able to establish themselves permanently west of the Alleghanies. Except the partial destruction of the railroad and the carrying away of several thousand horses and cattle, the great raid was a failure so far as benefit to the Confederacy was concerned.

March 7. Skirmish at Green Spring Run, in Hampshire County.

March 28. Confederates were defeated at Hurricane Bridge, near the Kanawha, by Captain J. W. Johnson.

March 30. Skirmish at Point Pleasant. Captain Carter, with a Union force of 60 men, was attacked by Confederates and besieged several hours in the Court-House. The Rebels retreated when Federal reinforcements appeared upon the opposite bank of the Ohio.

April 5. Skirmish at Mud River. Captain Dove attacked and defeated Confederates under Captain P. M. Carpenter.

April 6. Lieutenant Speer, with five wagons and 11 men, was captured near Burlington, Mineral County, by Confederates under McNeill.

April 7. Federals under Captain Moore attacked the Confederates at Going's Ford, near Moorefield, defeated them and retook the wagons lost by Lieutenant Speer the day before.

April 11. Colonel G. R. Latham moved from Beverly toward Franklin, Pendleton County, and occupied the town without opposition. He returned to Beverly after an absence of seven days.

April 18. Fight in Harrison County. Colonel N. Wilkinson with a squad of Union troops captured Major Thomas D. Armstrong at Johnstown and scattered his forces on the head of Hacker's Creek.

April 20. Imboden set forward with 3000 men on his great raid. General W. E. Jones was sent through Hardy County to Oakland, Maryland, thence to move westward, destroying the railroad, while Imboden advanced through Randolph County toward Grafton, expecting to form a junction near that place with Jones, whence they would move west. The plan was generally carried out.

April 21. General Jones with 1300 men set forward on the great raid.

April 24. Beverly was captured by Imboden. Colonel Latham with 900 Federals retreated to Philippi, in Barbour County, over roads almost impassable for mud which in places was up to the saddle skirts. Imboden was unable to follow with artillery, but pursued with cavalry. General Roberts in command of the Union forces in the northwestern part of the State, called in all his outlying garrisons and retreated to Clarksburg. Colonel James Mulligan marched from Grafton with a Federal force and fought Imboden's troops in Barbour County, but hearing that General Jones was threatening Grafton, Mulligan fell back to defend that point. Imboden moved slowly toward Buckhannon over roads so bad that in one day he could advance only two miles.

April 25. Fight at Greenland Gap in Grant County. Captain Martin Wallace with less than 100 Federals held the pass five hours against the

Rebel army, and surrendered only when set on fire.

April 26. General Jones attacked and captured Cranberry Summit, now Terra Alta, in Preston County.

April 26. The Confederates attacked Rowlesburg for the purpose of destroying the railroad bridge and trestles. The town was defended by Major J. H. Showalter and 252 Union troops. General Jones did not lead the attack in person but remained at the bridge five miles above Rowlesburg where the Northwestern Pike crosses, for the purpose of burning the structure as soon as the town was taken. But his attacking parties were repulsed, and he abandoned the attack and marched to Evansville, in Preston County, not knowing that the Federal garrison of Rowlesburg was in full retreat toward Pennsylvania. Thus the town escaped capture, although defenseless; and the great trestles, for the destruction of which General Lee had planned so carefully, and the tunnel at Tunnelton, then the largest in the world, were saved; and the blow which would have paralysed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for months, was not struck.

April 27. The suspension bridge across Cheat River at Albrightsville, three miles from Kingwood, was cut down by the Confederates. The cables were severed with an axe.

April 27. Bridges and trestles on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad near Independence, Preston County, were burned by General Jones.

April 27. Morgantown, Monongalia County, was surrendered to General Jones by the citizens. Three citizens were shot near town by the Rebels.

April 28. The suspension bridge across the Monongahela river at Morgantown was set on fire by the Confederates, but they permitted the citizens to extinguish the fire before much damage was done.

April 29. The Confederates under Imboden advanced to and occupied Buckhannon, in Upshur County.

April 29. General Jones attacked and captured Fairmont, Marion County, after a sharp skirmish. He captured 260 prisoners.

April 29. The large iron railroad bridge across the Monongahela above Fairmont, which cost over \$400,000, was blown down with powder. The first blast of three kegs of powder placed under a pier, failed to move it, and the Confederates proceeded to burn the wood-work, considering it impossible to destroy the iron superstructure. But after several hours of undermining, a charge of powder threw the bridge into the river.

April 29. Governor Pierpont's library at his home in Fairmont was burned by the Rebels.

April 29. Colonel Mulligan, who had been in Barbour County fighting Imboden, came up and attacked the Confederates under Jones, while they were destroying the bridge above Fairmont, and sharp fight ensued. Mulligan saw that he could not save the bridge, and fell back to Grafton.

April 30. Imboden lost 200 soldiers at Buckhannon by desertion, because he would not permit them to steal horses for their private benefit.

April 30. Skirmish at Bridgeport, Harrison County. General Jones captured 47 prisoners, burned a bridge and trestle, and run a freight train into the creek.

May 2. General Jones occupied Philippi, and from there sent across the Alleghanies, by way of Beverly, several thousand cattle and horses

taken from the people. On the same day he formed a junction with Imboden's troops.

May 2. Lieutenant G. M. Edgar, with a detachment of Confederates, was attacked by Federals at Lewisburg, Greenbrier County. He defeated them.

May 4. General Jones invested Clarkeburg, where several thousand Union troops had collected from the counties south of that place, but he did not make an attack.

May 5. Imboden skirmished with a small Union force at Janelew, Lewis County.

May 6. Imboden moved from Weston toward the southwest, Jones having moved west from Clarkeburg toward Parkersburg. Up to that time Imboden had collected 3,100 cattle from the country through which he had raided.

May 6. Jones moved against West Union, in Doddridge county, but upon approaching the town he saw that the Union troops collected there were prepared to make a stand and fight, and he declined battle and moved on west.

May 7. Jones captured Cairo, Ritchie County, and the small garrison at that place.

May 8. Colonel James A. Galliher was fired upon by bushwhackers at Capon Bridge, Hampshire County.

May 9. Jones burned 100,000 barrels of oil at the oil wells in Wirt County. The tanks broke and the crude petroleum flowed into the Little Kanawha River, took fire and the spectacle of a river in flames for miles was never before seen. The destruction of everything combustible along the river was complete. The Confederates advanced no nearer the Ohio. Both Imboden and Jones turned southward and eastward and recrossed the Alleghanies late in May. Instead of procuring "several thousand" recruits, as Imboden had expected, more soldiers were lost by desertion than were gained by recruits. General Lee expressed disappointment with the result, and Imboden excused the failure to increase his army by saying that the inhabitants of West Virginia were a "conquered people," in fear of Northern bayonets, and not daring to espouse the Confederate cause.

May 12. Imboden defeated a small Union force near Summersville.

May 19. Fayetteville, in Fayette County, was attacked by General McCausland, but after bombarding two days the Federals forced him to retreat.

May 23. General B. S. Roberts was superseded by General William W. Averell in command of the Federal forces in the northern part of West Virginia. General Roberts was relieved because he offered so little opposition to the advance of Jones and Imboden. When Imboden crossed the mountains and took Beverly, the war department at Washington urged General Roberts to collect his forces and fight. To this General Roberts replied that the roads were so bad he could not move his troops. The answer from Washington was sarcastic, asking why the roads were too bad for him and yet good enough to enable the Rebels to move with considerable rapidity. From all accounts, the roads were worse than ever before or since. Imboden left Weston with twelve horses dragging each cannon, and then found it necessary to throw away ammunition and the extra wheels for the guns, in order to get along at all, and then sometimes being able to make no more than five miles a day. When General Averell took command he changed

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8000 infantry to cavalry, and trained it to the highest proficiency, and with it did some of the finest fighting of the war. The Confederates feared him and moved in his vicinity with the greatest caution. His headquarters at first were at Weston.

June 7. General Lee ordered Imboden into Hampshire County to destroy railroad bridges, preliminary to the Gettysburg campaign.

June 10. General Averell urged that the mass of mountains forming the great rampart overlooking the Valley of Virginia should be fortified and held. He referred to the Alleghany, Cheat Mountain, Rich Mountain and others about the sources of the Greenbrier, Cheat, Tygart and Elk Rivers. In his letter to General Schenck he said: "It has always appeared to me that the importance of holding this mass of mountains, so full of fastnesses, and making a vast re-entranglement in front of the enemy, has never been appreciated."

June 14. A portion of General Milroy's forces were captured by Confederates at Bunker Hill, near Martinsburg.

June 14. Martinsburg was captured by Confederates under General A. G. Jenkins. General Daniel Tyler, who had occupied the town, retreated.

June 16. Romney was captured by Imboden.

June 17. South Branch Bridge, at the mouth of South Branch, was burned by Imboden, who advanced through Hampshire County, forming the extreme left of General Lee's army in the Gettysburg campaign.

June 24. A Union scouting party from Grafton to St. George had a skirmish with guerrillas, killing five and capturing several horses.

June 26. Skirmish at Long Creek, in the Kanawha Valley. Captain C. E. Hambleton, with 75 men, was attacked and defeated by Confederates under Major R. A. Bailey, with a loss of 29 prisoners and 45 horses.

June 29. General William L. Jackson, with 1,200 Confederates, moved against Beverly to attack the forces under Averell.

July 2. The Confederates under Jackson attacked the troops at Beverly and were repulsed.

July 4. The Confederates under W. L. Jackson, who had fallen back from Beverly, were attacked and routed at Huttonsville by General Averell.

July 13. An expedition set out from Fayetteville, crossed into Virginia and cut the railroad at Wytheville, being absent twelve days, skirmishing with small parties of Confederates.

July 14. Skirmish on the road between Harper's Ferry and Charles-town, resulting in the defeat of the Confederates.

July 14. Confederates defeated in a skirmish at Falling Waters.

July 15. Colonel C. H. Smith defeated Confederates near Charlestown.

July 17. Skirmish at North Mountain, Berkeley County. The Rebels were defeated, with 17 captured.

July 19. Fight near Martinsburg, in which General Bradley T. Johnson was defeated by General Averell, who had just arrived from Beverly and was opposing the western wing of General Lee's army retreating from Gettysburg. Johnson was destroying the railroad when Averell drove him away, capturing 20 prisoners.

August 5. General Averell moved from Winchester through Hardy County on his expedition to Greenbrier County.

August 5. Skirmish at Cold Spring Gap, in Hardy County, by a portion

of Averell's force under Captain Von Koenig, and a detachment of Imboden's command. The Confederates lost 11 men captured.

August 6. Averell sent a squad of cavalry to Harper's Mill, from Lost River, Hardy County. Several prisoners were taken, but the Federals subsequently fell into an ambuscade and lost the prisoners and had 13 men captured and 4 wounded. The Confederates had 3 killed and 5 wounded.

August 19. The Federals destroyed the saltpeter works near Franklin.

August 21. Wilkinson's Brigade skirmished with Confederate guerrillas near Glenville, killing 4.

August 22. Confederates were defeated by Averell near Huntersville.

August 23. Averell crossed from Huntersville to Jackson River and destroyed saltpeter works.

August 26. Battle of Rocky Gap, in Greenbrier County. Averell with 1300 men fought General Sam Jones with over 2000. The battle continued two days, when Averell's ammunition ran short and he retreated to Beverly. His loss in the battle was 218, the Confederate loss 162. This was one of the most hotly contested battles in West Virginia. Captain Von Koenig was killed. It has been said it was done by one of his men whom he had struck while on the march. It is also said that this soldier did not know Averell by sight, and supposed it was Averell who had struck him, and when he shot Von Koenig, supposed he was shooting Averell.

August 26. Lieutenant Dilts with 40 Federals killed 3 bushwhackers ten miles from Sutton, Braxton County.

August 26. Union troops were fired upon by bushwhackers on Elk River, five miles below Sutton.

August 27. Forty guerrillas under Cunningham attacked a Federal detachment under Captain C. J. Harrison, on Elk River, near Sutton. The guerrillas were defeated.

August 27. In a skirmish with Confederate guerrillas on Cedar Creek, fifteen miles from Glenville, Gilmer County, Captain Simpson defeated them, killing 4.

September 4. Skirmish at Petersburg Gap, in Grant County. A Union detachment marching from Petersburg to Moorefield was defeated.

September 11. Confederates under McNeill made a daybreak attack upon Major W. E. Stephens near Moorefield and defeated him, killing or wounding 30 men and taking 135 prisoners. The Federals were endeavoring to surprise McNeill, but were surprised by him. The Rebels had 3 wounded.

September 15. One hundred Federals under Captain Jones attacked 70 Confederates at Smithfield, capturing 11. Captain Jones was wounded.

September 20. A Federal picket on the Seneca Road, where it crosses Shaver Mountain, was attacked and defeated by the Confederates who lost 4.

September 24. A scouting party of 70 sent from Beverly by Averell lost 2 men in a skirmish at Greenbrier Bridge.

September 25. Sixty Confederates under Major D. B. Lang of Imboden's command, surprised and captured 30 of Averell's men at the crossing of Cheat River by the Seneca trail.

October 2. A petition was signed and forwarded to the Confederate Government, asking for the removal of General Sam Jones from the command in Western Virginia, and the assignment of some other General in his place. Among the signers were members of the Virginia Legislature from

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the West Virginia counties of Mercer, Roane, Putnam, Logan, Boone and Wyoming. There were many other signatures. Those counties were represented in the Virginia and the West Virginia Legislature at the same time. The position charged incompetency against General Jones. He was soon after relieved of command in West Virginia.

October 7. Confederates under Harry Gilmor defeated Captain G. D. Summers and 40 men at Summit Point, Jefferson County. Captain Summers was killed.

October 10. Fight at Buettown, Braxton County. Confederates under W. L. Jackson were defeated with a loss in killed and wounded of 50 by Captain W. H. Mattingly, who was severely wounded in the action.

October 14. When Jackson retreated from Buettown he was pursued by Averell's troops, who came up with him and defeated him at Salt Lick Bridge.

October 15. Twenty seven of Harry Gilmor's men who had been sent to burn the Back Creek Bridge, were captured in a skirmish near Hedgeville by Federals under Colonel Pierce.

October 18. Attack on Charlestown by 1200 men under Imboden. The Confederates captured 434 of Colonel Simpson's command and then retreated, hotly pursued. Some of Imboden's infantry marched 48 miles on the day of the fight, thus beating the record made by Napoleon's soldiers, who marched 35 miles and fought a battle in one day.

November 1. General Averell moved from Beverly into Pocahontas County with about 2,500 men, and General Duffie moved from Charleston to co-operate with him. They expected to form a junction in Greenbrier County.

November 3. Skirmish at Cuckleytown, Pocahontas County. Confederates were defeated by Averell.

November 5. Confederates were defeated by Averell at Hillsboro, Pocahontas County, and at Mill Point.

November 6. Battle of Droop Mountain, Pocahontas County. Averell attacked General Echols, who had 1700 men strongly posted on the summit of a mountain. It was a stubborn contest and the Federals gained the day by a flank movement, Echols retreating with a loss of 275 men and three cannon. Averell's loss was 119. The Confederates made their escape through Lewisburg a few hours before General Duffie's army arrived at that place to cut them off, while Averell was pursuing. By blockading the road, Echols secured his retreat into Monroe County. Averell attempted pursuit, but received no support from Duffie's troops, who were worn out, and the pursuit was abandoned.

November 6. Confederates at Little Sewell Mountain were defeated by General Duffie.

November 7. Lewisburg was occupied by General Duffie.

November 7. In a night skirmish at Muddy Creek the Confederates were defeated by General Duffie's troops.

November 8. A squad of Confederates driving cattle was attacked on Second Creek, on the road to Union, in Monroe County, and lost 110 cattle.

November 12. The Salt peter Works in Pendleton County, used by the Confederates in making gunpowder, were destroyed by Averell's troops.

November 15. General Imboden sent Captain Hill into Harbou County to waylay wagon trains on the road from Philippi to Beverly.

November 16. At Burlington, in Mineral County, 100 Confederates un-

der McNeill captured a train of 80 wagons and 200 horses, killing two men, wounding 10 and taking 20 prisoners. The wagon train was under an escort of 90 men, commanded by Captain Jeffers.

December 8. Averell moved from Keyser with Federal troops upon his great Salem raid, which he concluded on Christmas Day. He had 2500 cavalry, and artillery. It was a momentous issue. General Burnside was besieged at Knoxville, Tennessee, by General Longstreet, and it was feared that no re-enforcements could reach Burnside in time to save him. The only hope lay in cutting Longstreet's line of supplies and compelling him to raise the siege. This was the railroad from Richmond to Knoxville, passing through Salem, sixty miles west Lynchburg. Averell was ordered to cut this road at Salem, no matter what the result to his army. He must do it, even if he lost every man he had in the execution of his work. An army of 2500 could be sacrificed to save Burnside's larger army. With his veteran cavalry, mostly West Virginians, and equal to the best the world ever saw, Averell left Keyser December 8, 1863, and moved through Petersburg, Monterey, Back Creek, Gatewood's, Callahan's, Sweet Sulphur Springs Valley, Newcastle to Salem, almost as straight as an arrow, for much of the way following a route nearly parallel with the summit of the Alleghanies. Four Confederate armies, any of them larger than his, lay between him and Salem, and to the number of 12,000 they marched, counter-marched, and maneuvered to effect his capture. Still, eight days he rode toward Salem in terrible storms, fording and swimming overflowing mountain streams, crossing mountains and pursuing ravines by night and by day, and on December 16 he struck Salem, and the blow was felt throughout the Southern Confederacy. The last halt on the downward march was made at Sweet Sulphur Valley. The horses were fed and the soldiers made coffee and rested two hours. Then at 1 o'clock on the afternoon of December 15, they mounted for the dash into Salem.

From the top of Sweet Springs Mountain a splendid view was opened before them. Averell, in his official report, speaks of it thus: "Seventy miles to the eastward the Peaks of Otter reared their summits above the Blue Ridge, and all the space between was filled with a billowing ocean of hills and mountain, while behind us the great Alleghanies, coming from north with the grandeur of innumerable tints, swept past and faded in the southern horizon." Newcastle was passed during the night. Averell's advance guard were mounted on fleet horses, and carried repeating rifles. They allowed no one to go ahead of them. They captured a squad of Confederates now and then, and learned from these that Averell's advance was as yet unsuspected in that quarter. It was, however, known at that time at Lynchburg and Richmond, but it was not known at what point he was striking. Valuable military stores were at Salem, and at that very time a train-load of soldiers was hurrying up from Lynchburg to guard the place. When within four miles of Salem a troop of Confederates were captured. They had come out to see if they could learn anything of Averell, and from them it was ascertained that the soldiers from Lynchburg were hourly expected at Salem. This was 9 o'clock on the morning of December 16. Averell's men had ridden twenty hours without rest. Averell saw that no time was to be lost. From this point it became a race between Averell's cavalry and the Lynchburg train loaded with Confederates, each trying to reach Salem first. The whistling of the engine in the distance was heard, and Averell saw that he would be too late if he advanced with his whole force.

So he set forward with three hundred and fifty horsemen and two rifled cannon, and went into Salem on a dead run, people on the road and streets parting right and left to let the squadron pass. The train loaded with Confederates was approaching the depot. Averell wheeled a cannon into position and fired three times in rapid succession, the first ball missing, but the next passing through the train almost from end to end, and the third following close after. The locomotive was uninjured, and it reversed and backed up the road in a hurry, disappearing in the direction whence it had come. Averell cut the telegraph wires. The work of destroying the railroad was begun. When the remainder of the force came up, detachments were sent four miles east and twelve miles west to destroy the railroad and bridges. The destruction was complete. They burned 100,000 bushels of shelled corn; 10,000 bushels of wheat; 2,000 barrels of flour; 50,000 bushels of oats; 1,000 sacks of salt; 100 wagons; large quantities of clothing, leather, cotton, harness, shoes; and the bridges, bridge-timber, trestles, ties, and everything that would burn, even twisting the rails, up and down the railroad sixteen miles.

At 4 p. m., December 16, Averell set out upon his return. Confederate troops were hurrying from all sides to cut him off. Generals Fitzhugh Lee, Jubal A. Early, John McCausland, John Echoes and W. H. Jackson each had an army, and they occupied every road, as they supposed, by which Averell could escape. Rain fell in torrents. Streams overflowed their banks and deluged the country. The cavalry swam, and the cannon and caissons were hauled across by ropes where horses could not ford. The Federals fought their way to James River, crossed it on bridges which they burned in the face of the Confederates, and crossed the Alleghanies into Pocahontas County by a road almost unknown. More than 100 men were lost by capture and drowning at James River. The rains had changed to snow, and the cold was so intense that cattle froze to death in the fields. Such a storm had seldom or never been seen in the Alleghanies. The soldiers' feet from till they could not wear boots. They wrapped their foot in socks, Averell among the rest. For sixty miles they followed a road which was one unbroken sheet of ice. Horses fell and crippled themselves or broke the riders' legs. The artillery horses could not pull the cannon, and the soldiers did that work, 100 men dragging each gun up the mountains. Going down the mountains a tree was dragged behind each cannon to hold it in the road. The Confederates were hard in pursuit, and there was fighting nearly all the way through Pocahontas County, and at Edray a severe skirmish was fought. Beverly was reached December 24, and thence the army marched to Webster, in Taylor County, and was carried by train to Martinsburg. Averell lost 119 men on the expedition, one ambulance and a few wagons, but no artillery.

December 11. Confederates under Captain William Thurnmond attacked General Scammon at Big Sewell and were repulsed. General Scammon was marching to attract the attention of the Confederate General Echoes, and thereby assist Averell on his Salem raid.

December 11. Confederates under General W. L. Jackson were defeated at Martin Bottom, Pocahontas County, by Colonel Augustus Moor, who hurried into that country to assist Averell, by attracting the attention of the Rebels.

December 12. Lowlburg was taken by General Scammon, General Echoes retreating.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR.

December 12. Troops sent by General Scammon drove Confederates across the Greenbrier River.

December 13. Skirmish at Hurricane Bridge. Confederates attacked a small force of Federals under Captain Young. Both sides retreated.

December 14. Skirmish on the Blue Sulphur Road, near Meadow Bluff. Lieutenant H. G. Otis, with 29 men was attacked by Rebel guerrillas under William Thurmond. The guerrillas fled, having killed 2 and wounded 4 Union soldiers, while their own loss was 2.

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January 2. Confederates under General Fitzhugh Lee invaded the South Branch Valley. This raid, following so soon after Averell's Salem raid, was meant as a retaliation for the destruction at Salem. The weather was so cold and the Shenandoah Mountains so icy that Lee could not cross with artillery, and he abandoned his guns and moved forward with his troops.

January 3. Petersburg, Grant County, besieged by Fitzhugh Lee.

January 3. An empty train of 40 wagons, returning from Petersburg to Keyser, was captured by Confederates.

January 6. Romney was occupied by Fitzhugh Lee.

January 6. Springfield, in Hampshire County, was captured by Confederates under McNeill and Gilmor.

January 30. General Rosser, with a strong Confederate force, captured a train of 90 wagons, 300 mules and 20 prisoners, at Medley, Mineral County. Among the prisoners taken was Judge Nathan Goff, of West Virginia, whose horse fell on him and held him. He was then twenty years old. The wagon train was in charge of Colonel Joseph Snyder.

January 31. Petersburg, Grant County, was evacuated by Federals under Colonel Thoburn upon the advance of an army under General Early. Colonel Thoburn retreated to Keyser by way of Greenland Gap.

February 1. General Early advanced and attacked the fort near Petersburg, not knowing that Colonel Thoburn had retreated and that the fort was empty.

February 2. General Rosser destroyed the railroad bridges across the North Branch and Patterson Creek, in Mineral county.

February 3. Forty Rebels under Major J. H. Nounnan attacked and captured the steamer Levi on the Kanawha, at Red House. General Scammon was on board and was taken prisoner.

February 11. Confederates under Gilmor threw a Baltimore and Ohio passenger train from the track near Kearneysville, and robbed the passengers.

February 20. Twenty Federals under Lieutenant Henry A. Wolf were attacked near Hurricane Bridge. Lieutenant Wolf was killed.

February 25. General John C. Breckinridge was assigned to the command of the Confederate forces in West Virginia, relieving General Sam Jones. General Breckinridge assumed command March 5.

March 3. Colonel A. L Root marched from Petersburg and destroyed the Salt peter Works operated by Confederates in Pendleton County.

March 3. Skirmish in Grant County. Lieutenant Denney with 27 Federals was attacked and defeated near Petersburg with a loss of 7 men and 13 horses.

March 10. Major Sullivan was killed by Mosby's guerrillas in a skirmish at Kabotsown.

March 10. Eight men, of Imboden's command, who had been in Barbour County attempting to waylay a wagon train, crossed into Tucker County and robbed David Wheeler's Store, three miles from St. George.

March 20. Skirmish at the Sinks of Gandy in Randolph County. The Rebels who had robbed Wheeler's store were pursued by Lieutenant Valentine J. Gallion and Captain Nathaniel J. Lambert and defeated, with 3 killed, 2 captured, and the stolen property was recovered.

April 19. Confederates were attacked and defeated at Marlin Bottom, Pocahontas County.

May 2. An expedition moved from the Kanawha Valley under Generals Crook and Averell against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. This is known as the Dublin Raid, so called from the village of that name in Pulaski County. The cavalry was under the command of General Averell, while General George Crook was in command of all the forces. On May 9 occurred a desperate battle on Cloyd Mountain, near the boundary between Giles and Pulaski Counties, Virginia. General Crook commanded the Union forces, and the Confederates were under General Albert G. Jenkins. For a long time the issue of the battle was doubtful; but at length General Jenkins fell, and his army gave way. He was mortally wounded, and died soon after. His arm had been amputated at the shoulder by a Federal surgeon. In the meantime General Averell, with a force of cavalry, 2000 strong, advanced by wretched roads and miserable paths through Wyoming County, West Virginia, into Virginia, hoping to strike at Saltville or Wytheville before the Confederates could concentrate for defense. When the troops entered Tazewell County they had numerous skirmishes with small parties of Confederates. When Tazewell Court House was reached it was learned that between 4000 and 5000 Confederates, commanded by Generals W. E. Jones and John H. Morgan, had concentrated at Saltville, having learned of Averell's advance. The defences north of that town were so strongly fortified that the Union troops could not attack with hope of success. Averell turned, and made a rapid march toward Wytheville, to prevent the Confederates from marching to attack General Crook. Arriving near Wytheville on May 10, he met Jones and Morgan, with 5000 men, marching to attack General Crook. Averell made an attack on them, or they on him, as both sides appeared to begin the battle about the same time. Although out-numbered and out-flanked, the Union forces held their ground four hours, at which time the vigor of the Confederate fighting began to slack. After dark the Confederates withdrew. The Union loss was 114 in killed and wounded. Averell made a dash for Dublin, and the Confederates followed as fast as possible. The bridge across New River, and other bridges, were destroyed, and the railroad was torn up. Soon after crossing New River on the morning of May 12, the Confederates arrived on the opposite bank, but they could not cross the stream. They had been unable to prevent the destruction of the railroad property, although their forces out-numbered Averell's. The Union cavalry rejoined General Crook, and the army returned to the Kanawha Valley by way of Monroe County.

May 3. Balltown, Braxton County, was captured and the barracks burned by Confederates under Captains Spriggs and Chewings.

May 4. Captain McNeill with 61 Confederate cavalry captured Pied-

mont, in Mineral County, and burned two trains, machine shops, and captured 104 prisoners.

May 6. Lieutenant Blazer's scouts attacked and defeated a troop of Confederates near Princeton, Mercer County.

May 8. Fifty Confederates attacked a Federal post at Halltown, Jefferson County, and were defeated.

May 9. Skirmish on the summit of Cheat Mountain between a scouting party from Beverly and 100 Rebels.

May 10. The Ringgold Cavalry was attacked and defeated at Lost River Gap, Hardy County, by Imboden. The Federals were hunting for McNeill's men, and Imboden had hurriedly crossed from the Valley of Virginia to assist McNeill to escape.

May 11. Romney was occupied by General Imboden.

May 15. A scouting party moved from Beverly under Colonel Harris against Confederate guerrillas in Pocahontas, Webster and Braxton Counties, capturing 38 prisoners, 85 horses, 40 cattle, and returning to Beverly May 30.

May 19. General David Hunter was appointed to the command of Federal forces in West Virginia. He assumed command May 21.

May 21. In a skirmish near Charlestown the Confederates under Mosby were defeated.

June 6. Skirmish at Panther Gap. Rebels were defeated by Colonel D. Frost.

June 6. Fight near Moorefield. Eighty Federals under Captain Hart were attacked and lost four killed and six wounded, but defeated the Confederates.

June 10. Colonel Thompson was defeated near Kabletown by Major Gilmor.

June 19. Captain Boggs, with 30 West Virginia State troops from Pendleton County, known as Swamp Dragons, was attacked near Petersburg by Lieutenant Dolen, with a portion of McNeill's company. The Confederates were at first successful, but finally were defeated, and Lieutenant Dolen was killed.

June 26. Captain McNeill, with 60 Confederates, attacked Captain Law and 100 men at Springfield, Hampshire County. The Federals were defeated, losing 60 prisoners and 100 horses.

June 28. A detachment of Federals was defeated at Sweet Sulphur Springs by Thurmond's guerrillas.

July 3. Skirmish at Lextown. Confederates under General Ransom attacked and defeated Colonel Mulligan after a severe fight. A large Confederate army under General Early was invading West Virginia and Maryland, penetrating as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

July 3. Confederates under Gilmor attacked Union troops at Darksville, Berkeley County, and were defeated.

July 3. General Early captured Martinsburg.

July 3. Skirmish at North River Mills, Hampshire County.

July 4. General Imboden attacked an armored car and a blockhouse at the South Branch Bridge, in Hampshire County. He blew the car up with a shell, and attempted to destroy the bridge, but the blockhouse could not be taken, and he retreated.

July 4. Rebels under Captain McNeill burned the railroad bridge across Patterson Creek, Mineral County.

July 4. An attack on the North Branch Bridge, in Mineral County, was repulsed by the Federals.

July 4. Harper's Ferry was invested by Confederates. They besieged the place four days, until the heavy guns on the heights drove them back and shelled them to the distance of four miles. General Franz Sigel was in command at Harper's Ferry.

July 6. General Imboden attacked Sir John's Run, Morgan County, and burned the railroad station-house, but was driven off by iron-clad cars.

July 6. Big Craggy Bridge, Morgan County, was attacked by Imboden. He was driven off by iron-clad cars.

July 14. Romney was occupied by McNeill.

July 23. Romney was taken by McNeill and Captain Harness.

July 25. Federals under General George Crook were defeated at Baker Hill, Berkeley County.

July 25. Fight at Martinsburg. The Confederates in strong force fought General Dulloway all day.

July 30. Confederates under General W. L. Jackson were defeated near Shepherdstown.

August 2. The Confederates under General Bradley T. Johnson captured Green Spring, Hampshire County, Colonel Stough being in command of the Federals. The Rebels had advanced toward Cumberland, and made an attack on the Federal defenders, but did not push the attack. These Confederates were returning from their plundering raid in Pennsylvania.

August 2. Confederates under McNeill destroyed three railroad culverts between Keyser and Cumberland.

August 2. The suspension bridge across the South Branch of the Potowmack near Springfield was cut down by order of General Early.

August 4. Confederates under Generals Bradley T. Johnson and John McCausland attacked Keyser and were repulsed.

August 7. General Averell overtook and routed the forces of McCausland and Johnson, near Moorefield. These Confederates had burned Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, because the people would not pay \$400,000 ransom. Averell entered Chambersburg within two hours after the Confederates left, and he pursued them through Maryland into West Virginia, and came upon them at daybreak near Moorefield and surprised them, captured all their artillery, 420 prisoners, 400 horses, retook the plunder carried from Pennsylvania, and drove the disorganized forces ten miles into the mountains. The Rebels believed that no quarters would be given them because they had burned Chambersburg.

August 21. Skirmish at Summit Point between a detachment of Confederates and the New York Dragoons.

August 21. General Sheridan was defeated at Welch's Spring with a loss of 270.

August 22. Confederates at Charlestown were defeated by Colonel Charles R. Lowell.

August 22. General Sheridan's troops defeated the Confederates at Halltown.

August 29. The Confederates were defeated four miles from Charles-town. This fighting, and that which followed and preceded it in the same vicinity, was between the armies of General Sheridan and General Early.

September 1. Martinsburg was captured by General Early's troops, Averell retreating.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR.

- September 2.* Confederate cavalry under Vaughn was defeated by Averell at Bunker Hill.
- September 3.* Federals under General Crook defeated General Kershaw near Berryville, killing and wounding 200.
- September 3.* Averell defeated McCloud at Bunker Hill.
- September 4.* Cavalry fight near Berryville between Mosby's and Blaser's men, in which Mosby lost 19 men, killed and captured.
- September 14.* Skirmish near Centerville, Upshur County, between Federals under Captain H. H. Haggard and 30 horse-thieves.
- September 17.* Confederates under Colonel V. A. Witcher, to the number of 523, among them Captain Phillip J. and Captain William D. Thurmond's guerrillas, moved from Tazewell County, Virginia, upon a raid into West Virginia, returning September 28 with 400 horses, 200 cattle, and having lost only one man.
- September 18.* General Early's troops recaptured Martinsburg.
- September 23.* Confederates under Major James H. Neumann moved from Tazewell County upon a raid into the Kanawha Valley. They returned to Tazewell October 1.
- September 26.* Colonel Witcher captured Weston and robbed the Exchange Bank of \$5,287.85; also captured a number of Home Guards.
- September 26.* Captain William H. Payne, of Witcher's command, occupied Janeau, Lewis County.
- September 27.* Witcher defeated Federal cavalry at Buckhannon and captured the town.
- September 28.* The Rebels having moved up the river from Buckhannon, and Federals, under Major T. F. Lang, having occupied the town, Colonel Witcher made a dash and recaptured the place and took Major Lang and 100 men prisoner, and destroyed a large quantity of military stores.
- September 29.* Skirmish at the mouth of Coal River. Rebels under Major Neumann were defeated.
- October 11.* Skirmish two miles south of Petersburg between 100 Home Guards under Captain Boggs and Rebels under Harness.
- October 26.* Colonel Witcher attacked the town of Winfield and was defeated. Captain P. J. Thurmond was mortally wounded, taken prisoner, and soon after died.
- October 29.* Major Hall, with 350 Rebels, attacked Beverly and was repulsed with a loss of 140, Hall being mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The Federals, 200 in number, were in command of Colonel Young. He lost 40. The Confederate attacking force was made up of men from 21 regiments.
- November 1.* Green Spring, Hampshire County, was captured by Confederates under Captain McNell; about 30 Federals were taken prisoner.
- November 5.* Colonel V. A. Witcher captured and burned the steamer Harness and Dawn at Buffalo Islands, Big Sandy River.
- November 7.* Colonel George B. Ladham, with 225 Federals, defeated McNell at Moorefield, taking 8 prisoners.
- November 22.* Colonel H. E. Fleming with a small force attacked 2,000 Confederates under Harness at Moorefield, and was defeated, with a loss of 20 men and one officer.
- November 26.* Major Dotts, with 150 men, was defeated by Confederates of Harness's command at Moorefield.
- November 29.* General Harness surprised Keyser, capturing or dispersing

ing the Federal garrison of 800, and taking several cannon, burning government and railroad property, and carrying away hundreds of horses.
 November 28. Confederates under Major McDonald were defeated at Pendleton by 27 men under Captain Fisher.

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January 11. General Rosser captured Beverly. The Federals were in command of Colonel R. Youart. They lost 6 killed, 28 wounded and 580 prisoners.

January 11. A Federal scouting party, under Major E. S. Troxel, moved from Keyser, passing through Pendleton County.

January 15. Skirmish at Petersburg. Major Troxel defeated McNeill.

January 19. Rebel guerrillas wrecked a train on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad near Dufield.

February 4. Train thrown from track and robbed by Confederates near Harper's Ferry.

February 5. Major H. W. Gilmore was captured by Federals under Colonel Young, near Moorefield.

February 21. Generals Crook and Kelley were captured at Cumberland by 61 Confederates under Lieutenant Jesse McNeill, son of Captain J. H. McNeill. There were 3000 Union troops in Cumberland at the time.

February 26. General Winfield S. Hancock was assigned to the command of the Federal forces in West Virginia.

March 15. Rebel guerrillas were defeated on the South Fork, above Moorefield, by Captain McNulty.

March 22. Lieutenant Martin defeated Confederates of McNeill's command on Patterson Creek, in Mineral County, killing 2, wounding 3.

March 30. A railroad train was derailed and robbed near Patterson Creek Bridge, in Mineral County, by McNeill's command.

April 2. General W. H. Emory was assigned to the command of Union forces in West Virginia.

April 6. Confederates under Mosby captured Loudoun County Rangers near Charlestown.

April 10. General Emory proposed to Governor Boreman that the West Virginia civil authorities resume their functions, re-open the courts and dispense justice, "as much as no large bodies of armed Rebels are in the State."

April 12. Lieutenant S. H. Draper raided a Rebel rendezvous on Timber Ridge, Hampshire County.

April 15. Captain Joseph Badger moved from Philippi with a scouting party, passing through Randolph and Pocahontas Counties, returning to Philippi April 25.

May 8. McNeill's company surrendered at Romney.

June 1. Colonel Wesley Owens left Clarksburg with 400 men and made a twelve days' expedition through Pocahontas and Pendleton Counties, hunting for Governor William Smith, of Virginia, who had not surrendered. He was also collecting Government property, mostly horses, scattered through those counties. No trace was found of the fugitive governor. The country was exhausted and desolated. Only two families were found in Huntersville, Pocahontas County. The paroled Confederate soldiers were coming home and were trying to plant corn with but little to work with. By the terms of surrender granted Lee by Grant, the Confederate soldiers

who had horses or mules were permitted to keep them. Old cavalry horses and artillery mules were harnessed to plows, and peace again reigned in the mountains of West Virginia.

West Virginia furnished 36,530 soldiers for the Union, and about 7000 for the Confederate armies. In addition to these there were 32 companies of troops in the state service, some counties having one company, some two. Their duty was to scout, and to protect the people against guerrillas. The majority of them were organized in 1863 and 1864. These companies with their captains were as follows:

Captain M. T. Haller	Barbour County.
" A. Alltop	Marion County.
" H. S. Sayre	Doddridge County.
" J. C. Wilkinson	Lewis County.
" George C. Kennedy	Jackson County.
" John Johnson	" "
" William Logsdon	Wood County.
" William Ellison	Calhoun County.
" Alexander Donaldson	Roane County.
" Hiram Chapman	" "
" H. S. Burns	Wirt County.
" John Boggs	Pendleton County.
" M. Mallow	" "
" John Ball	Putnam County.
" J. L. Kesling	Upshur County.
" William R. Spaulding	Wayne County.
" M. M. Pierce	Preston County.
" William Gandee	Roane County.
" Nathaniel J. Lambert	Tucker County.
" James A. Ramsey	Nicholas County.
" John S. Bond	Hardy County.
" William Bartrum	Wayne County.
" Ira G. Copeley	" "
" William Turner	Raleigh County.
" Sanders Mullins	Wyoming County.
" Robert Brooks	Kanawha County.
" B. L. Stephenson	Clay County.
" G. F. Taylor	Braxton County.
" W. T. Wiant	Gilmer County.
" Isaac Brown	Nicholas County.
" Benjamin R. Haley	Wayne County.
" Sampson, Snyder	Randolph County.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND INDIAN TROUBLES.*

Nearly thirty years elapsed after settlements were planted on the upper waters of the Potomac before the tide of emigration gained sufficient force to cross the Alleghenies and take possession of the valleys of the west. The country beyond the mountains, when spoken of by the Virginians, was called "the waters of the Mississippi," because the streams having their sources on the western slope flowed into the Mississippi River, while those rising eastward of the summit found their way into the Atlantic Ocean. It was usual, from about 1790 to 1799 for the Virginia records to distinguish between the eastern and western country by calling the former "Hampshire County," and the latter "the waters of the Mississippi," because Hampshire included the most important settlements between the Valley of Virginia and the summit of the Alleghenies, and did not include any country on the western slope, except about eighty square miles in the present county of Tucker. Hunters and explorers crossed the mountains occasionally from very early times, and the country westward gradually became known. The purpose of this chapter is to mention the routes by which the early settlers and explorers found their way over the Alleghenies to the upper valleys of Cheat River and the Monongahela, particularly that section now included in Randolph and Tucker counties. The subject has been much neglected by writers who have pretended to cover the field, they having given their attention to the great highway to the west, from Cumberland to Pittsburgh, and losing sight of the fact that there were other paths, which were of no small importance although now almost forgotten. Before proceeding to a consideration of some of them, a brief history will be given of the highway from Cumberland west, by which settlers of the lower Monongahela found their way across the mountains.

About the year 1750 the Ohio Company, a wealthy corporation engaged in trading with Indians, and also dealing in lands west of Laurel Hill, employed Colonel Thomas Cresap, who lived fifteen miles east of Cumberland, to survey a path by which traders could carry their goods to the Ohio River. The company had a store and a fort at Cumberland, then called Will's Creek. Colonel Cresap offered a reward to the Indian who would mark the best route for a path from Cumberland to the site of Pittsburgh. An Indian named Nemawill received the reward, and a path was marked. Part of the way it followed a buffalo trail by which these animals had crossed the

*This chapter deals in a general way only of early settlements and Indian troubles, and does not enter into details. In other parts of this book much additional information on the subjects will be found which could not be properly presented in this chapter.

mountains for ages. Traders with their packhorses traveled the path from that time, if indeed, they had not been traveling it, or one similar to it, for years. Traders by the hundred, and packhorses by the thousand, had made their way to the Ohio before that time. In 1748 three hundred English traders crossed the Alleghanies, some by way of the Kanawha, others by Cumberland, and others by still other routes. In 1749 the French explorer, Cabezon, met a company of six traders in Ohio, with fifty horses loaded with furs, bound for Philadelphia. The Nemnolin trail was widened into a wagon road as far as the Monongahela in 1754, by George Washington. This was the first wagon road made from the Atlantic slope over the mountains to the Mississippi basin. The next year, 1755, Braddock, with his army, widened the road and completed it within nine miles of Pittsburg. He was defeated and the road remained unfinished. The National Road now follows nearly the route of that road. Braddock took 1500 horses over the route, and more than one hundred wagons, besides several heavy cannon. Although the road was a good one, yet for twenty-five years not a wagon loaded with merchandise passed over it. Traders still packed on horses. In 1781 the people on the Monongahela, in Pennsylvania, paid five cents a pound to have their merchandise carried from Philadelphia, and in 1789 they paid four cents for carrying from Carlisle to Uniontown. Packing was a trade. There were those who followed it for a living. Wages paid the packhorse driver were fifteen dollars per month, and men were scarce at that price. In 1789 the first wagon loaded with merchandise reached the Monongahela River, passing over the Braddock road. It was driven by John Hayden, and hauled two thousand pounds from Hagerstown to Brownsville, and was drawn by four horses. One month was consumed in making the trip, and the freight bill was sixty dollars. This was cheaper than packing on horses.*

Prior to the time the first wagonload of merchandise reached the western waters, a movement had been set on foot for opening a canal along the bank of the Potowmack from Alexandra, in Virginia, to a point on the North Branch of the Potowmack near where the North western pike crosses that stream at Gorman, in Grant County, West Virginia. Thence a road was to be made across the mountain, thirty or more miles, to Cheat River, and a canal constructed down that stream to a point where it could be navigated; or, if more practicable, the road was to be made from the North Branch to the nearest navigable point on the Monongahela. The prime mover in this scheme was George Washington. He had thought over it for years, and in 1775 he was about to take steps to organise a company to build the canal when the Revolutionary War began, and he could do nothing further till the war closed. As soon as peace was established he took up again the canal scheme. He believed that easy and adequate communication should be opened between the Atlantic Coast and the great valleys west of the Alleghanies; because, if those valleys remained cut off from the East by the mountain barriers, the settlers who were flocking there by thousands, would seek an outlet for trade down the Ohio and Mississippi, and their commercial interests would lead to political ties which would bind them to the Spanish colonies in the Mississippi Valley, and gradually they would become indifferent to the Atlantic Coast States.† Washington believed that the

*See the "Monongahela of Old," by Veach.

†See Steers' Life and Writings of Washington.

people west of the mountains should be bound to the East by commerce and community of interest, or they would set up an independent republic, and enter into an alliance or union with the Spanish. He therefore urged that two canals be built, one by way of the Potomac and the Monongahela; the other by way of the James and the Kanawha. In 1784, the year after peace was signed with England, he crossed the Alleghanies, and visited the Monongahela, on a tour of observation, as well as to look after large tracts of land which he owned in the West. On his return he ascended Cheat River and crossed the mountains to Staunton. The wisdom of America's greatest man is shown no more in his success in war and his foresight in politics than in his wonderful grasp and understanding of the laws governing trade, and the effects of geography on the future history of a country. We who look back, and have the advantage of history, do not see any more clearly than Washington foresaw, the needs of bonds to unite the East and the West. And with equal foresight he mapped the most practicable routes for highways. The surveys made for the canal from Alexandria to the Monongahela, forty years after, followed almost the identical line marked by Washington, including the roads across the mountains. The canal was never built farther than Cumberland, because the invention of railroads by that time put a stop to canal building. When Washington began to urge the construction of a canal, he was opposed by the Maryland Assembly; but in 1784, when he returned to the prosecution of his scheme, Maryland joined Virginia, and in December of that year both made appropriations for opening a road "from the highest practicable navigation of the Potomac to that of the River Cheat or the Monongahela." Washington was the first president of the canal company. He was given stock to the value of several thousand dollars in that company, and an equal amount in the canal to be constructed up the James River and down the Kanawha. He refused to receive either except on condition that he be permitted to devote his stock to some educational purpose. He did this in his will.

Having thus spoken of highways and proposed highways, between the Potomac River and the Upper Valley of the Ohio, it remains to be shown that there were not the only paths across the mountains. These mentioned were of large, almost national importance; the paths yet to be spoken of were of local importance only; but so far as Randolph and Tucker counties are concerned, they were of more importance than the Braddock road; because the majority of the early settlers of Upper Cheat and of Tygart's Valley did not travel the Braddock road, but entered by trails further south, of which there were three important ones, and one of lesser importance. This latter was known as the McCullough Trail. It passed from Moorefield to Patterson Creek, up that stream through Greenland Gap, in Grant County; crossed over a spur of the Alleghanies to the North Branch, following the general line of the Northwestern pike to the head of the Little Youghiogheny, in Garrett County, Maryland, thence to the Youghiogheny west of Chilcoat, and on to Cheat River near the Pennsylvania line. But a branch from it led down Horse Shoe Run to the mouth of Lead Mine Run where it intersected another path to be spoken of later. This branch of the McCullough Trail was occasionally traveled by early settlers on Cheat and the Valley River, but it was of minor importance. Another trail led up the North Branch of the Potomac to the head of that stream, where the

* See Hunting's Statutes.

Fairfax Stone was planted. Thence it crossed Backbone Mountain to the head of Lead Mine Run, about ten miles east of St. George, in Tucker County. It followed down Lead Mine to its mouth, thence down Horse Shoe Run, to Cheat River at the Horse Shoe, three miles above St. George. Thence one branch led down Cheat, across Laurel Hill to the Valley River below Philippi, in Barbour County. The other branch passed up Cheat to the vicinity of Parsons, Tucker County. Thence it passed, by a route not now definitely known, to the head of Leading Creek, in Randolph County, and thence to the settlements on Tygart's River. The geography of the country renders it probable that the path from Cheat to Leading Creek followed Pheasant Run. The majority of the settlers on Cheat River, above and below the Horse Shoe, came to the country by this trail, from the Potomac; and many of those who settled on Leading Creek did likewise; but there was another path by which many of the early settlers of Randolph entered the county. This will be spoken of presently. There is no record of the marking of the path by Fairfax Stone. It seems to have been there at the earliest visit of the whites, and was probably an Indian path or a buffalo trail across the mountain. It is known that not only the earliest settlers on Cheat, but also some of the earliest on the Buckhannon River, and on the West Fork, entered the country by this path. The first white man to follow the trail was probably William Mayo in 1736. It is known that he ascended the North Branch in that year, and discovered the streams which have their sources on the western slope of the mountains—tributaries of Cheat River. History does not say how far westward he followed the streams; probably not far. Nine years later other explorers ascended the North Branch to the present territory of Tucker County, and a map made of the region soon after is tolerably accurate. During the French and Indian war, from 1754 to 1759, it is believed that parties of Indians occasionally followed the path in their raids into Hampshire and Frederick Counties; but it cannot be established positively that they did so.

Twenty miles south of the trail which led by way of Fairfax Stone, another path crossed the Alleghanies, known as the Shawnee Trail, and in later years sometimes called the Seneca Trail. The former name was given because it was traveled by Shawnee Indians, notably, by Killbuck's bands, in raiding the South Branch settlement. It was called the Seneca Trail because, after reaching the summit of the Alleghany, it passed down Seneca Creek to the North Fork. The trail, beginning near Hattonsville, passed near Beverly and Elkins, thence across the branches of Cheat River above the mouth of Horse Camp Creek; thence to the summit of the Alleghany; down Seneca on the eastern side to the North Fork. Thence one branch probably ascended North Fork to connect with another trail further south to be described presently; another branch passed down the North Fork to Petersburg and Moorefield where it intersected the McCullough Trail, or what was subsequently called the McCullough Trail. Let it be understood that, although these trails were traveled by the early settlers, they were originally Indian paths, and had been traveled by the aborigines, time out of mind. The first settlers found them and used them. The Shawnee path was of great importance. It was the chief highway between Tygart's Valley and the South Branch for a century. Hundreds of packhorses, laden with salt, iron and other merchandise, traveled it every year, and many a drove of cattle passed over it. During the Civil War it was frequently used by soldiers. Many of the horses and cattle captured

by Imbedon and Jones in their great raid of 1663, were sent across the mountains by that path. General Averell, who had command of Federal forces in this part of West Virginia, found it necessary to post strong pickets on the trail. A wagon road has since been made, following the general course of the path, and the old trail is no longer used, but it can still be followed, and traces of it will probably remain for a hundred years.

Fifty miles southwest of the Fairfax Stone another path crossed the mountain. It is difficult at the present day to ascertain the exact route by which it led from the Potomac to the head of Tygart's Valley River. For a portion of the way its location is well known. It passed up the South Branch of the Potomac to the mouth of the North Fork, in Grant County; ascended that stream to the mouth of Dry Run, in the southwestern part of Pendleton County; passed up Laurel Creek into Highland County, Virginia, and near where the Staunton and Parkersburg pike crosses that stream, the path turned toward the west, and ascended the Alleghany Mountain. It followed the dividing ridge, as is believed, between Deer Creek and Little Run, in Pocahontas County, a short distance, then descended the East Fork of Greenbrier River to the main river; crossed it; crossed Shaver's Mountain to the headwaters of Shaver's Fork of Cheat River; thence across Cheat Mountain to Tygart's Valley River. It will be seen that from the head of the North Fork to Tygart's Valley, the path deviated but little from the general course of the Staunton and Parkersburg pike. No person knows when this path was first used. Without doubt it dates back beyond the reach of history, and was followed by buffaloes and Indians before emigrants and traders made it a highway across the mountains. It was probably a branch of a famous Indian trail which came through Pennsylvania; traversed Maryland east of Cumberland; crossed the Potomac at the mouth of the South Branch; ascended that stream to its headwaters. After reaching Tygart's Valley River, it intersected the Shawnee Trail near Huttonsville, crossed to the head of the Little Kanawha, in the southern part of Upshur County, and followed that stream to the Ohio River. A tradition that the trail up the Little Kanawha, and thence across the mountains to the Potomac, was marked out by a squad of soldiers who escaped from Braddock's battle, in 1755, and made their way to the Little Kanawha, and up that stream, should be given little credence. It is impossible that any soldiers escaped by that route, and if they did, the trail is well known to have been in existence long before that date.*

A study of the physical features of the country, lying between the North Branch of the Potomac and the head of the South Branch, a region stretching fifty miles southwest along the Alleghanies from Fairfax Stone, will show why so few paths crossed between the valleys on the east and those on the west. The country, embracing more than a thousand square miles, was and is one of exceeding difficulty to the traveler. Between the two points, Fairfax Stone and the head of the South Branch, the Alleghany

*There was another Indian trail which led from Valley Bend, some six miles above Beverly, over Cheat Mountains by way of the head of Flies Creek, thence crossing Cheat River at the mouth of Fishing Hawk, and from there by way of the Sinks of Gandy to the headwaters of the South Branch. There is a tradition that the Tygart family followed that trail when they fled from the Indians who had massacred the Flies family in the winter of 1753-4. A trail led up the Great Kanawha, up Elk Water to Tygart's Valley. It is believed that no other place in West Virginia contained the meeting of so many trails as Tygart's Valley. It was, evidently, a favorite hunting ground for the Indians.

Mountain and the parallel and crumpled ridges lying on both sides, are pushed together in rugged and stupendous masses; broken and cleft; steep and bleak; cut by ravines; battlemented by crags and pinnacles; and had all the jungles and thickets been removed, they would still have offered serious obstacles to the passage of the emigrant and explorer. But, added to the rocks and cliffs, the whole region, along the upper tributaries of Cheat River, over to the Greenbrier, was one unbroken wilderness of pines and tangled laurel. Nearly a century passed, after the settlement of the country on both sides, before roads were constructed through this wilderness, even in the most favorable places. And to this day there are scores of square miles where scarcely a cabin is to be seen. The dense beds of laurel even yet appall the hunter; and they are entered only when the lumberman's ax cuts the way, or where railroads slash and blast their lines through jungles and rocks. As late as 1861, when Garnett's army was defeated in Randolph County, and was cut off from retreat by the Stanton pike, it was compelled to make a detour of one hundred and twenty miles to pass round this trackless wilderness, when the distance was only one-half, could it have made its way directly across the mountains. Again, in November, 1862, when Imboden made a dash with 300 cavalry from Pendleton County to St. George, and was compelled to fall back, he saved his army from capture by overwhelming forces on nearly all sides, by taking refuge in the forests between Dry Fork and Shaver's Fork, where he was safe from pursuit.

It can be seen that the Mountain Wilderness was a barrier which the emigrant was able to cross at only three points—at the northern, at the middle, and at the southern extremity. While the stream of emigration was pouring into the Ohio Valley along the Braddock road, and along the Forbes road north of it, and while another stream of home seekers passed down the Kanawha, three obscure paths, hardly known then and now almost forgotten, conducted the hardy pioneer into the Valley of the Cheat and to the Tygart Valley, and to other valleys further west.

SETTLEMENTS AND MASSACRES.

Having seen some of the difficulties in the way of the early settlers of Randolph in reaching the country, it now remains to show what fate befell them, and the vicissitudes of fortune through which the infant colony passed. The first settlement on the waters of the Monongahela within the present territory of West Virginia, was made as early as 1758, possibly a year earlier. It was made by two families, Robert Files, or Foyle, where Beverly now stands, and by David Tygart, farther up the Valley, near the present site of the "brick house." From the one settler Files Creek takes its name, and from the other the River and Valley. It appears from contemporaneous records in Virginia that the proper spelling of the name was Foyle, not Files; but the latter spelling has been so long used that it will never be changed. The nearest neighbors of the emigrants lived on the South Branch, on the one side, at the mouth of the Youghiogheny, in Pennsylvania, on the other, while southward there were two white men living in the present territory of Pocahontas County, and a settlement still farther south in Greenbrier County. It is stated by Withers, the earliest historian, that an Indian village was near the settlement. This was doubtless a mistake. No Indian town is known to have been in that part of West Virginia at the time under consideration. Bulltown, on the Little Kanawha, in the

present County of Braxton, about fifty miles from this settlement, was probably meant." It was near enough to have been considered dangerously near; but, fortunately, the village was not there at that time. It was not founded until about twelve years afterwards, when a Delaware chief, Bull, with five families came there and settled. They were from Orange County, New York, and were living in New York as late as 1764, at which time Bull was arrested, charged with taking part in Pontiac's conspiracy, was carried to New York City and subsequently was released and he moved with his families to Balltown, and remained about five years. The settlers from Hacker's Creek, in Lewis County, destroyed the town in 1772. It is further stated by Withers that an Indian trail passed near the settlement. This was no doubt the path up the Little Kanawha and down the North Fork of the Potomac, already mentioned, or that branch, called the Shawnee Trail, which led into Pendleton County.[†]

During the season of 1758 the two families in Tygart's Valley not having raised enough corn for their bread, and also probably having some uneasiness on account of the growing hostility of the Indians and French, decided to leave the country for the present. This was late in December, 1758, or early in January, 1754, as inferred from Governor Dinwiddie's account of the affair. But they had delayed their departure too long. Indians appeared at the Files cabin and murdered him, his wife and five children. One son, who was not at the house, escaped. The youngest child killed was ten years old. The boy who escaped fled to Tygart's house about two miles up the valley and gave the alarm in time for the family to escape. The Indians who did this deed were returning, as is said, from a raid on the South Branch where they had killed or carried into captivity a young man. The date of the Files murder has long been disputed. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, in his speech to the Assembly, February 14, 1754, refers to it and says it was "no longer ago than last month," which would place it in January, 1754. On February 4, 1754, the bodies of the murdered settlers were discovered by white people, and "they seemed to have been dead about two months." It is presumed that the dead were buried, although Withers says that in 1772 a man named Westfall found the bones and buried them.[‡]

[†]It is not improbable that the Indian village referred to by Withers, was supposed by him to occupy a site 32 miles south of Beverly, on Mingo Run, a small tributary of Tygart's River. Old settlers supposed, and present inhabitants of the vicinity maintain, that when the country was first visited by white people the Mingo Indians occupied a town at that place, and from them Mingo Run, Mingo Knob and Mingo Flats were named. However, it is morally certain, if not absolutely so, that no Indian town existed at the place after the country became known to white men. That an Indian town once existed there, the proof is ample; and the same proof places the town long prior to the coming of the white people. As shown in a former chapter of this book, the Indian tribes once occupying West Virginia were driven out or exterminated by Mohawks from New York a century before the first white man's cabin was built west of the Alleghenies. The village on Mingo Run, therefore, must have ceased to exist as the permanent home of Indians not later than 1672, eighty years, at least, before Files built his cabin.

[‡]H. G. Thwaites, who edited a new edition of Withers, speaks of this trail as the "Warrior Branch." The "Warrior Branch" crossed the Ohio River forty or fifty miles above Parkersburg, and passed from there into Pennsylvania, and at its nearest point it was fully one hundred miles from Tygart's Valley.

If the Indians who murdered the Files family were "returning from the South Branch," where they had "killed or carried into captivity a young man," it is probable the murder occurred early in the fall of 1753, instead of December of that year or just

After this, Tygart's Valley lay vacant for eighteen years. From 1754 to 1764 there was trouble with the Indians on the border most of the time, and it was an inauspicious time to plant settlements west of the mountains. So disastrous was the war that the settlements east of the mountains were pushed back to Winchester, with only a few forts between there and Cumberland. The settlements on the Monongahela in Pennsylvania were broken up, and the Indians and the French held sway west of the Alleghenies. But when peace returned, in 1765, settlers began to cross the mountains. There was a considerable colony in Upshur County by 1769, and the outposts of the white settlers had reached the Ohio at Wheeling. But not till 1772 was a second attempt made to plant settlements in Randolph County, and this colony was permanent. The Valley above and below Beverly had been visited from time to time by hunters and explorers, and the excellent quality of the land was well known. When it began to be taken, it went very rapidly, and in a short time it was all taken, for thirty miles up and down the river.* Among the early settlers who took up land in 1772, were the names Haddan, Whitman, Wamsley, Warwick, Nelson, Stalnaker, Riddle and Westfall. In this year, 1772, settlements were made in Harrison, Lewis, Taylor; and settlements in Monongalia and Marion Counties, made some years before, were in a flourishing condition. But so much could not be said for the colony in Upshur County; not that anything was lacking with the people or land; but so many new comers entered the county that corn was consumed and bread failed. The year 1773 was long known in Upshur County as "the starving year." Settlements in Tucker County were made about the same time by the Parsons, Minears, Coopers, Goffs, Camerons and Millers.

In 1774 came the Dunmore War, and the people in Randolph built two forts, Westfall's and Currence's.† These were simply large log houses, and chimneys on the inside to prevent Indians from climbing to the roof. Holes were made for shooting through. No Indians gave trouble in the Valley

ary 1754. The only prisoner known to have been carried away from the South Branch about that time was a boy named Zane. In Washington's Journal of his Mission to the French in Western Pennsylvania, he speaks of a boy who had recently been carried to that country from the South Branch, by Indians. Washington wrote this on November 25, 1753, and the boy had been carried away some time before that. If the rangers of Zane were the murderers of the Elbow family, the murder occurred not later than October, 1753. The period is far from positive, but very probably the murder occurred about that time. It is not likely that Indians would have made a journey through the mountains in midwinter December or January. If Elbow had not raised enough corn for bread, and contemplated a return to the settlements, he would not have waited till midwinter to make the trip. This strengthens the probability that the murder occurred in the fall.

*For more specific information as to how and when lands were taken up in Randolph, see an article in this book headed "Old Land Patents."

†The Currence Fort was evidently the "Casino's" Fort spoken of in Withers' Border Warfare. There was no fort in Randolph County named "Casino's." The Currence Fort stood one-half mile east of Oriskard, in Tygart's Valley. Many years after the Indian wars the fort was torn down and the logs were used in building a residence which was occupied half a century. In 1872 the house was torn down, and the logs were used in building as abutment in the river to keep the bank from washing. Some years later a flood carried the logs away, after they had been service more than one hundred years. The Westfall Fort stood a quarter of a mile south of Beverly. Nearly a century ago it was torn down and re-built on the bluff where D. H. Baker now lives. It still stands in a good state of preservation, and probably it is the only Indian fort now standing in West Virginia, although the ruins of several are still pointed out. It was built in 1774 and is now (1898) 224 years old.

that year, although they prowled about the fort built in the Horse Shoe, in Tucker County, until they so alarmed the settlers that they abandoned their colony and retreated to the South Branch. The people in Randolph probably owed their safety to their vigilance. They kept scouts in the mountains watching all the paths by which Indians would be likely to enter the country. On the first intimation of danger, the settlers locked themselves in their forts. Indians seldom made an attack when they knew the people were prepared for them. The war closed in the fall of 1774 and there was peace until 1777, when the Revolutionary War commenced. The British induced the not unwilling Indians to take arms against the western settlers. There was much alarm along the borders. The people of Randolph repaired their forts, and again practised the caution which had stood them so well three years before. They sent scouts to watch Indian paths. The first misfortune of the war, affecting Randolph County, befell two of these scouts, Leonard Petro and William White. They were watching the path up the Little Kanawha, perhaps in Braxton County. Late one evening they shot an elk. Scouts watching Indian trails fired guns only when necessary to procure food, as the report might betray them to Indians. Such happened on the present occasion. A party of Indians were near, and hearing the gun, sought out the camp of the scouts and prepared to attack them. At that moment White, who was awake, discovered them in the moonlight, and being too near to escape, he whispered to Petro to lie still. The next instant an Indian sprang upon them. White aimed a blow with his tomahawk, but missed. He at once changed his tactics, and putting on a cheerful air, pretended that he had struck while half asleep, and had no wish to hurt Indians. He said he and Petro were on their way to join the Indians. His story might have deceived them had not the woeeful face of Petro told a different story. It was plainly seen that he was not pleased with the situation. The Indians tied them for the rest of the night, and in the morning, having painted Petro black, indicating that he was to be killed, they started with the prisoners and carried them to Ohio. Petro was never again heard of." White stole a gun, killed an Indian who was on horseback, took the horse, and rode home, arriving in Randolph in November, 1777.

It is probable that Indians followed him. At any rate a few days after he reached Tygart's Valley a party of twenty Indians approached within ten miles of the settlements. But a snow having fallen, they were afraid to venture nearer lest their tracks should betray them before they could murder anybody. They accordingly lay hid ten miles from the head of the Valley, until the snow was gone. On December 15, they attacked Darby Connolly's house, in the upper end of the Valley, killed him, his wife and several of his children, and took the others prisoner. They next appeared at the house of John Stewart and killed him, his wife and child, and carried away as a prisoner his sister-in-law, Miss Hamilton. They retreated loaded with plunder. John Haddan passed the house that evening and discovered the murder. He sent a message to Wilson's Fort, twenty-seven miles down the Valley, and the next morning Colonel Benjamin Wilson, who was then a commissioned officer in the Revolutionary army, was at the scene of the murder with thirty men, and followed the trail five days through rain and

*The Petro family (sometimes spelled Pedro) were said to be Spanish. They were dark of complexion and of spare build. When and how they came to Randolph has never been certainly ascertained.

now, wading water at times to the waist, and at times their clothing hung with icicles. The savages could not be overtaken, and the men reluctantly returned to the Valley. That was the last mischief done by Indians in West Virginia that year. It had been a terrible year on the frontiers from Pittsburgh to Kentucky, and is known as the "bloody year of three 'T's."

The Valley was not visited by Indians in 1778. The next year they came in October and shot Lieutenant John White who was riding along the road. He was a useful and popular man in the community and his death was viewed as a public calamity. Colonel Benjamin Wilson raised a party of men and marched with all speed through the present counties of Upshur and Lewis, into Gilmer, hoping to cut the Indians off at a well known crossing of the Little Kanawha, at the mouth of Board Fork. He remained concealed there for three days, but the Indians did not arrive. They had probably returned to Ohio by some other route.†

Up to 1780 the Indians who had visited Tygart's Valley had done so in the fall of the year. But in 1780 they came in March and set a dangerous ambuscade in the upper end of the Valley, above Haddon's Fort. Thomas Lackey observed the moccasin tracks in the path, and while examining them he heard some one say in an undertone; "Let him alone. He will go and bring more." He went to Haddon's Fort and reported what he had seen and heard, but he was not believed. There were at that time several men from Greenbrier County staying all night in the fort, intending to start home the next morning. When they set out a few of the men belonging in the fort accompanied them a short distance. Although warned of the danger they approached the spot carelessly and were fired upon by the Indians. The horsemen galloped safely by, but the footmen were surrounded, and the only chance for escape they had was to cross the river and climb a hill on the opposite side. John McLain was killed thirty yards from the brow of the hill; James Halton still nearer the top; James Crouch was wounded but reached the fort next day. John Nelson, after crossing the river, attempted to escape down the bank, but was met by an Indian and was killed after a desperate hand to hand battle, as was evidenced by his shattered gunstock, the upturned earth and the locks of Indian hair in his still clasped hands.‡

"The grave of the Connolly family is still pointed out on the present farm of Harmon Connell, and about a third of a mile below the mouth of Connolly Run. One headstone marks the grave.

There was a general belief among the old citizens of Randolph that Lieutenant White was not killed by Indians but by two deserters from the Continental army, who were hiding in the mountains, and suspecting that White was trying to apprehend them they waylaid the road and shot him.

Haddon's Fort stood on the point of high ground, at the mouth of Elkwater, near the Indian mound, on the present farm of Randolph Crouch. The Indian ambuscade was set three miles above the mouth of Elkwater, where H. C. Tidly now lives. The Indians lay concealed at the mouth of a ravine coming down from the west. The path followed the west bank of the river. When fired upon, the men ran across the river and climbed the cliff which rises just above the new road which has lately been made along the base of the hill. James Crouch was wounded just as he reached the top of the cliff. Nelson was killed between the present road and the river. Jacob Warwick and Jacob Lenox were the names of the men on horseback. They lived at Oliver Jack, in the present county of Preston. Warwick's horse was wounded. It is related that Warwick promised his horse on that occasion, if it would carry him safely away, he need never work again. The horse did so, and Warwick kept his promise. At least this path from Tygart's Valley to Greenbrier followed the river to Mingo, passed over Mingo

Soon after this, Indians attacked John Gibson's family on a branch of the Valley River. Mrs. Gibson was tomahawked in the presence of her children, and the other members of the family were carried into captivity. About the same time, and probably by the same Indians, Bernard Sims was killed at his cabin on Cheat River, four miles above St. George. When they saw that he had smallpox, they fled without scalping him. The people along Cheat took refuge in the fort at St. George.

The most disastrous Indian visitation Randolph ever experienced took place in April, 1781. The savages passed through the settlement along the West Fork River without committing any murders, and were shaping their course for Cheat River, about St. George, when they fell in with five men from St. George, who were returning from Clarkshurg where they had visited the land commissioners for Monongalia County to obtain deeds. The Indians killed John Minear, David Cameron and Mr. Cooper. Two others, Miller and Goff, escaped, one returning to Clarksburg, the other making his way to St. George. The Indians continued toward St. George till they encountered two men, James Brown and Stephen Radcliff, both of whom escaped. The Indians now believed that they could not surprise the people on Cheat River, so they turned their steps toward Leading Creek, in Randolph County. They nearly broke up the settlement. They killed Alexander Roney and took Mrs. Roney and her son prisoners. They killed Mrs. Daugherty and Mrs. Hornbeck and her children, Mrs. Buffington and her children, and many others whose names cannot now be ascertained. Jonathan Buffington and Benjamin Hornbeck escaped and carried the news to Wilson's and Friend's Forts. Colonel Wilson raised a company and pursued them; but the men became uneasy lest their own families should be murdered while unprotected, and they returned without having overtaken the savages. But the marauders were not to escape without severe chastisement. When the news reached Clarksburg that the land claimants were murdered on the Valley River, scouts were sent out to watch for the return of the Indians. Their trail was found soon after on West Fork River, near Isaac Creek, in the present County of Harrison. Colonel William Lowther, of Hacker's Creek, Lewis County, raised a company and went in pursuit. He overtook them on a branch of Hughes River in Ritchie County, late in the afternoon. He kept his men out of sight till the Indians were asleep, and then poured a volley into them, killing five. The others saved themselves by flight, leaving everything in camp but one gun. One of the prisoners, son of Alexander Roney, was killed by the fire of the attacking party, although every precaution had been taken to avoid such an occurrence. Another prisoner, Daniel Daugherty, an Irishman, came near sharing the same fate. The Indians had tied him down and he was so numb with cold he could scarcely speak. As the white men rushed forward, after the first fire, Daugherty was mistaken for a wounded Indian, and not being able to speak he was about to receive the tomahawk when fear loosed his tongue and he exclaimed: "Lo-ord, Jesus! and am Oi to be killed by white paple at last?"* His life was saved. Mrs. Roney, another prisoner, was overcome

Flats and crossed the mountain west of the present Marlinton Pike. This was an old Indian trail. On top of Middle Mountain the trail divided, one part going to Old Field Fort, the other to Clover Lick.

*Wither's Border Warfare.

with joy when deliverance came. She ran towards the men exclaiming, "I'm Ellick Roney's wife, of the Valley! I'm Ellick Roney's wife, of the Valley! and a pretty little woman, too, if I was well dressed." She did not know that her son had just been shot. Colonel Lowther returned, fully gratified that the savages had not escaped without punishment.

In the summer of 1782 between twenty and thirty Indians, led by a renegade Englishman named Timothy Dorman, who formerly lived on Buckhannon River, appeared in Tygart's Valley, after having driven the settlers from Upshur County, and burnt the fort near Buckhannon. Between Westfall's and Wilson's Forts, a mile below Beverly, the savages met John Bush and his wife and Jacob Stalmaker and his son Adam. They shot the young man, who fell from his horse. John Bush and his wife mounted the horse and escaped. Jacob Stalmaker also escaped, although the Indians were so near as to try to catch his horse by the bridle.*

In the spring of 1789 Indians invaded the settlement about St. George on Cheat River, and murdered Jonathan Minear, son of John Minear, who was killed by Indians eight years earlier, near Phillipi. When Jonathan Minear was killed he was feeding his cattle. His leg was broken by a bullet, and being overtaken he endeavored to escape by running round a beech tree, bracing himself by one hand against the tree. An Indian in striking at him with a tomahawk struck the tree several times, and the marks of the tomahawk in the bark were to be seen a few years ago, and probably are still to be seen. Minear was killed and his brother-in-law, Philip Washburn, was taken prisoner. The Indians were pursued by a squad of men under David Minear, and were fired upon near the Valley River, in Barbour County. Three of the savages were wounded and Washburn was liberated.

For nine Years following 1782 Indians did not invade Tygart's Valley. The people believed themselves safe and did not live in forts during the summer, as formerly; but, as a measure of protection, several families usually lived at one house. On May 11, 1791, Indians came for the last time. Two or three families were at the house of Joseph Kinnan, which stood on the west side of the river a mile above the mouth of Elkwater, on the Adam See farm, less than a mile from Haddan's Fort. The Indians approached the house awhile after dark, and finding the door open, the foremost walked in. Mr. Kinnan was sitting on the bed, and the savage extending his hand in a friendly manner said, "How d' do, how d' do." Mr. Kinnan extended his hand, but at the instant was shot and killed by an Indian in the yard. A young man named Ralston, who had been working with a drawing knife in the room, struck an Indian with it and cut off his nose. Another savage fired at Ralston, but missed, and the young man escaped. The savages killed three of Kinnan's children; but two others, Lewis and Joseph, were saved by Mrs. Ward, who ran into another room with them and escaped through a window. Mrs. Kinnan's brother, Mr. Lewis, was asleep in an adjoining room, and being awakened by the firing, he also escaped. Taking Mrs. Kinnan prisoner, the savages fled. When they reached the head of the Buckhannon River the Indian who had been struck with the drawing knife was unable to proceed, and they lay in concealment

* A settler followed these Indians across the river and shot one of them who was drinking at a spring on the side of Rich Mountain. The Indian ran a short distance in the woods and fell dead.

several weeks until he recovered. Mrs. Kinnan remained in captivity three years and four months, and was released after General Wayne conquered the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers.*

*Withers is mistaken both as to date and name in his account of this occurrence in the "Border Warfare." He gives the name Canaan and the date the latter part of the summer of 1794. An inventory of his estate was placed on record in Randolph, June 21, 1795, with Edward Hart administrator. Exclusive of the land the appraisement was \$617 (See Will Book No. 1, pp. 11, 12, 13, 23 and 24.) In his settlement, made in 1796, Edward Hart charged for five gallons of whiskey, which he had "used in settling the estate." Nevertheless the estate had not been settled as late as 1829. The date of the death of Kinnan is fixed by two letters written in 1829 by Lewis Kinnan, one of the boys who was carried out of the house and saved by Mrs. Ward. He and his brother were then (1829) living in Seneca County, New York, and their mother was then living in New Jersey. These letters are now in possession of Attorney L. D. Strader, of Beverly. The Indians evidently did not rob the house after the murder, as shown by the many articles left there, named in the appraisement. This list is valuable as showing what constituted the possessions of a family of that day. It is as follows: "9 horses, wheat and rye, bed curtains, 2 pairs pillows and cases, 1 towel, 1 fine shirt, 1 lawn apron, 1 black apron, 1 cambric apron, fine trumpery, 1 silk-gauze apron, 2 handkerchiefs, children's clothing, 1 coat, 1 jacket, 5 long gowns, 3 pair of shoes and silver buckles, 3 petty-coats, 2 check aprons, 4 short gowns, 2 beds and bed-clothing, 1 pair of pockets, 4 platters, 6 basins, 2 pates, 3 kugs, 1 pail, 1 pot tramble, 1 iron kettle, 3 scythes, 1 set of hangings, 1 gun, 1 bag, 2 bridles, 36 hogs, 16 cattle, 3 sheep, 1 grubbing hoe, two pairs of plow irons and cleavers, 2 poins, 1 jug, 1 candlestick, 2 flat irons, 1 pair of shears, 9 spoons, steelyards, 1 brush, 2 collars, 1 ax."



Grave of the Connolly Family.

CHAPTER XX.

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RANDOLPH'S SHARE IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The first armed encounter between the Union and Confederate forces in Randolph County took place at Middle Fork Bridge near the boundary between Randolph and Upshur Counties, July 6, 1861. In former chapters of this book a synopsis of events connected with the war in this part of West Virginia is given, and need not be repeated; but of such occurrences as affected Randolph County particularly, a fuller account will now be given.* Confederates under Porterfield had fallen back from Grafton to Philippi, at which place on June 8, 1861, they had been attacked and defeated by Colonel Kelly, whose force was about four times that of the Confederates. Colonel Porterfield retreated into Randolph County, and the Confederate Government sent General R. S. Garnett to supersede him. Reinforcements were hurried across the mountains, and by July 11 there were about 6000 Confederates in Randolph. They had two fortified camps, one at Rich Mountain, or rather at the western base of the mountain; the other at Laurel Hill, where the pike from Beverly to Philippi crosses that range. Colonel John Pegram was in command of 1300 men at Rich Mountain, and General Garnett was at Laurel Hill with about 4500. There were troops stationed at other points in the rear of the two principal positions, and they will be spoken of again when they appear on the scene of action. For the dislodgment of the Confederates, General McClellan maneuvered 20,000 Union troops. An advance was made by two divisions, one under General Thomas A. Morris, from Philippi, against Laurel Hill; the other under McClellan, by way of Buckhannon, against Rich Mountain. In addition to those there were troops along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Parkersburg to Cumberland. McClellan believed that Garnett had 10,000 men, but Garnett really had fewer than 6000 to defend both Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill, although there were others in the rear which did not take part in the fighting. Having outlined the positions of the two armies early in July, it now remains to speak of the movements and results.

On July 6, McClellan was at Buckhannon. On that day he sent a dispatch to Washington, saying that his troops would advance at four o'clock the next morning to drive the Confederates from Middle Fork Bridge, and he expected to be there himself during the day. The Confederates at the bridge were only a picket post placed there by Pegram to give notice of the first Union advance toward Rich Mountain. On the same day General Morris was ordered to advance from Philippi toward Laurel Hill. McClellan

*This chapter deals with the campaigns in their general aspects, and does not enter into personal adventures and reminiscences. These will be spoken of in other parts of this book.

said that within three or four days he expected to fight a battle and drive the Confederates over the mountain towards Staunton. The first movement of the Federal troops was a blunder. On the 6th, without McClellan's knowledge, a scouting party were sent up the pike from Buckhannon toward Beverly. They ran into the picket at Middle Fork Bridge and were driven back with a loss of one killed and five wounded. The next day a stronger force was sent from Buckhannon under Colonel R. L. McCook, and the Confederates were driven from Middle Fork Bridge, and McClellan moved his headquarters to that place. It is worthy of note, showing how little was understood of the magnitude of the war at that time, that McClellan wrote to General Scott on July 7, that with 10,000 troops in Eastern Tennessee, in addition to what he had in West Virginia, he could "crush the backbone of secession." At that very time McClellan did not know where he was to go after occupying Beverly; and General Scott did not know. No plan was formed. McClellan asked if he should march to Staunton or Wytheville, and General Scott told him to take whatever route he pleased.

Leaving McClellan at Middle Fork Bridge, within twelve miles of the Confederate position on Rich Mountain, July 7, it is necessary to turn aside to consider the movement through Barbour County. General Morris was ordered to advance on July 7, from Philippi to Belington and make a feint of attacking Garnett's camp on Laurel Hill. The Federal and Confederate forces confronting each other there were about equal. General Morris was not expected to fight a battle, but was to skirmish, and occupy the enemy on Laurel Hill and lead them to believe that the principal attack was to be made on them, but the plan was to attack Rich Mountain, capture it, push to Beverly, and then fall in the rear of Garnett and cut off his retreat south over the Staunton and Parkersburg pike, and compel him to surrender. General Morris was uneasy at Philippi. He feared that Garnett would advance and defeat him. It was reported and believed that the Confederates at Laurel Hill numbered 8000. Morris with 4000 feared the result of an encounter. On July 2d he wrote to McClellan and asked for reinforcements. This brought a reply from McClellan the next day in which he used the following language:

"I propose taking the really difficult and dangerous part of this work on my own hands * * * But let us understand each other. I can give you no more reinforcements. I cannot consent to weaken any further the really active and important column which is to decide the fate of the campaign. If you cannot undertake the defense of Philippi with the force now under your control, I must find some one who will. Do not ask for further reinforcements. If you do I shall take it as a request to be relieved from your command and to return to Indiana. I have spoken plainly. I speak officially. The crisis is a grave one, and I must have generals under me who are willing to risk as much as I am. Let this be the last of it."

It is the opinion of some military men that General Morris was the wiser of the two in this particular. General J. D. Cox writing of it years afterwards[†] said that, if Garnett had been as strong as McClellan believed him to be, there was nothing to prevent him from overpowering Morris at Belington; and when that was done the road to Clarksburg would be open and there would have been a race between him and McClellan which could get there first. Taking this view of the case, it was Morris,

^{**}"Records of the Rebellion."

[†]"Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."

and not McClellan, who was conducting the really important movement. The words of McClellan that he was taking the "difficult and dangerous" work sound strange in view of the well-known fact that when the battle was fought on Rich Mountain, McClellan took little more part in it than if he had been a hundred miles away. General Rosecrans did the hard marching and all the fighting; and although the roar of the cannon was heard three hours on the mountain, and it was plain Rosecrans was hotly engaged, McClellan did nothing to help him, and remained out of reach until he heard that the Rebels had retreated. But that will be given in detail in future pages. The advance of Morris to Belington and the fight there will now be considered.

On July 8, General Morris skirmished with the outposts of the Confederates in the woods back of Belington, within sight of General Garnett's camp on Laurel Hill. The Confederates held the woods and an attempt on the part of the Federals to drive them out failed, with a loss of four killed and six wounded on the Union side. The Federals threw shells into the woods, but without results. Late in the evening of July 8, the Confederates withdrew from the woods back of Belington and returned to their camp on Laurel Hill. During the four following days Morris and Garnett faced each other, without much fighting. The Federals were performing their work, that is, they were attracting the attention of Garnett while the real attack was being made fifteen miles distant at Rich Mountain.

On the evening of July 9, McClellan arrived at Roaring Creek, two miles from the base of Rich Mountain. The Confederates had destroyed the bridge over the creek, but that had little effect in checking the Federals. This was two miles from Colonel Pegram's position. On July 10 a strong reconnaissance was made by Lieutenant Poe within two hundred yards of the fort, resulting in the killing of one and the wounding of another Federal. The dense thickets with which the Confederate works were surrounded prevented the attainment of satisfactory information. The observations, however, served to convince McClellan that the works could not be easily carried by direct assault in front, and he laid plans for throwing a force in the rear, if any road could be found. However, that he might be prepared to attack in the front also, he ordered Lieutenant Poe to cut a road to the top of a ridge which would command the Confederate fort, and to plant artillery there. Poe proceeded to cut the road and was fired upon by the Rebels, but he cleared the ground ready for cannon, which for some unexplained cause, McClellan never sent, but which he was preparing to send when he learned that the battle was over. Inasmuch as General Rosecrans did the fighting, the best account of the battle, on the Union side, is contained in his official report. When it was decided that a flank movement should be made, arrangements were commenced for carrying it into execution. About 10 o'clock on the night of July 10, a young man named David Hart, whose father, Joseph Hart, lived on the summit of Rich Mountain, a mile and a half in the rear of the Confederate camp, came to Rosecrans and offered to pilot troops through the woods, by a circuit of from eight to ten miles, to his father's farm, from which point Colonel Pegram could be attacked in the rear. The plan was talked over between Rosecrans and McClellan, and was decided upon. Rosecrans was given 1917 men with which to execute the movement. The proposed route lay south of the pike. The start was made at three o'clock in the morning of

July 11, the men being supplied with rations for one day. General Rosecrans says:



The Lone Tree.

"Colonel Lander," accompanied by the guide, led the way through a pathless forest, over rocks and ravines, keeping far down to the southeastern declivities of the mountain spur, and using no ax, to avoid discovery by the enemy, who we supposed would be on the alert by reason of the unusual stir in our camp. A rain set in about 6 a.m., and lasted till 11 o'clock, with intermissions, during which the column pushed cautiously and steadily forward, and arrived at last and halted in rear of the crest on the top of Rich Mountain.[†] Hungry and weary with an eight hours' march over a most unkindly road, they lay down to rest. It was found that the guide was too much scared to be with us longer, and we had another valley to cross, another hill to climb, another descent beyond that to make, before we could reach the Beverly road at the top of the mountain. On this road we started at two o'clock and reached the top of the mountain after the loss of an hour's time. Shortly after passing over the crest of

the hill, the head of the column was fired on by the enemy's pickets, killing Sergeant James A. Taggart and wounding Captain Christopher Miller.[‡] The column then advanced through dense brushwood, emerging into more open woods, when the Rebels opened a fire of both musketry and a 6-pounder. * * * After an advance of fifty yards and some heavy firing from our line the enemy showed signs of yielding, and I gave orders to charge. Seven companies deployed into line and delivered two splendid volleys, when the enemy broke. The battle was over; two pieces of cannon were taken, and the dead and wounded were scattered over the hillside.[§]

Rosecrans was ordered by McClellan to send a messenger every hour during the march up the mountain. He did so, but a messenger sent about noon lost his way and was captured by the Confederates who learned from him of the flank movement, and had time to send 310 men and one 6-pounder to Hart's house on top of the mountain, and they were there waiting the approach of the Federals, and opened fire the instant they came in sight. The fight was a much more stubborn one than would be inferred from Rose-

^{*}Colonel, afterwards General, Lander, died a year and a half later at Pawpaw, Morgan County, just after he had succeeded in so maneuvering a force in Hampshire County as to cause the Confederate Government to withdraw its army from Romney, contrary to the advice of Stonewall Jackson, who was so provoked that he resigned from the Confederate army (January 31, 1862), and asked for a position as teacher in the Virginia Military Institute. At the earnest entreaty of Governor Letcher, Jackson remained with the army; but the lesson taught the Confederate Secretary of War never again to interfere with Jackson's plans.

[†]This halt was made at "Lone Tree." The "valley to cross" and the "hill to climb" were small affairs, as the crest of the mountain which the troops followed is comparatively level, and by no means difficult. "Lone Tree" is 570 feet higher than the battlefield, a little more than a mile distant.

[‡]The Confederate pickets first fired into the Federals about half way between the Lone Tree and the battlefield, or half a mile from the latter place. After firing once, the Confederate pickets fell back, and the Union forces advanced and the battle began soon after.

[§]When the battle began several Confederates took shelter in Hart's house, but the Federal bullets came through the windows and drove them out. The house, still standing, is of logs, and has many bullet holes in the walls, and bullet holes are seen in the partitions between the rooms. A Confederate who was trying to shelter himself in a far corner of an upstairs room was killed by a bullet which came through the window and passed through a partition. The hole is there yet. Dead and wounded were carried into the house, and up stairs. Bloodstains on the floor and on the stairway are seen to this day, after thirty-seven years of scouring. The blood has penetrated the wood and cannot be washed out.

trans' report. The Federals out-numbered the Confederates more than six to one, and the fight lasted three hours. A much more vivid picture of the battle is from the Confederate side, the report of Colonel Pegram made three days after the battle, while he was a prisoner at Beverly, and after Garnett's retreat. The following is from Pegram's report, sent to the Confederate Secretary of War at Richmond.*



BATTLEFIELD OF RICH MOUNTAIN.

"Not knowing where a communication will find General Garnett,† I submit the following report of the fight at Rich Mountain. The battlefield was immediately around the house of one Hart, situated at the highest point of the turnpike over the mountain, and two miles in the rear of my main line of trenches, the latter being at the foot of the western slope of the mountain. The intricacies of the surrounding country seemed

scarcely to demand the plac-

ing of any force at Hart's, yet I had that morning placed Captain De Lagnel there with 310 men and one piece of artillery, with instructions to defend it to the last extremity against whatever force might be brought to the attack by the enemy, but also to give me timely notice of his need for re-inforcements. These orders had not been given two hours before General Rosecrans, who had been conducted up a distant ridge on my left flank and then along the top of the mountain by a man, attacked this small handful of troops under Captain De Lagnel, with 3,000 men. When from my camp I heard the firing becoming very rapid, without waiting to hear from Captain De Lagnel, I ordered up re-inforcements, and hurried on myself to the scene of action. When I arrived the piece of artillery was entirely unmanned, Captain De Lagnel having been severely wounded, after which his men had left their piece. The limber and caisson were no longer visible, the horses having run away with them down the mountain, in doing which they met and upset the second piece of artillery, which had been ordered up to their assistance. Seeing the infantry deserting the slight breastworks hastily thrown up that morning by Captain De Lagnel, I used all personal exertion to make them stand to their work until I saw that the place was hopelessly lost. On my way back to my camp I found the re-inforcing force under command of Captain Anderson, of the artillery, in great confusion, they having fired upon their retreating comrades. I hurried on

* Colonel Pegram wrote this report while a prisoner at the residence of Jonathan Arnold in Beverly. The other Confederate officers, then prisoners in Beverly, were allowed the liberty of the town; but Colonel Pegram's liberties were more circumscribed, because he had joined the Confederate army without taking the trouble to resign as an officer from the United States army, which position he held at the beginning of the war. His fate for a time was in doubt, but, finally, he was exchanged and fought till the end of the war.

† Garnett was dead at that time.

to camp and ordered the remaining companies of my own regiment to camp to join them. This left my right front and right flank entirely unmanned. I then went back up the mountain, where I found the whole force drawn up in line in ambuscade near the road, under Major Nat Tyler. I called their attention and said a few encouraging words to the men, asking them if they would follow their officers to the attack, to which they responded by a cheer. I was here interrupted by Captain Anderson, who said to me, 'Colonel Pegram, these men are completely demoralized, and will need you to lead them.'

"I took my place at the head of the column, which I marched in single file through laurel thickets and other almost impassable brushwood up a ridge to the top of the mountain. This placed me about one-fourth of a mile to the right flank of the enemy, and which was exactly the point I had been making for. I had just gotten all the men up together and was about making my dispositions for the attack when Major Tyler came up and reported that during the march up the ridge one of the men in his flight had turned round and shot the first sergeant of one of the rear companies, which had caused nearly the whole of the company to run to the rear. He then said that the men were so intensely demoralized that he considered it madness to attempt to do anything with them by leading them on to the attack. A mere glance at the frightened countenances around me convinced me that this distressing news was but too true, and it was confirmed by the opinion of three or four company commanders around me. They all agreed with me that there was nothing left to do but to send the command under Major Tyler to effect a junction with either General Garnett at Laurel Hill, or Colonel William C. Scott, who was supposed to be with his regiment near Beverly. It was now half-past six in the evening, when I retraced my steps with much difficulty back to the camp, losing myself frequently on the way, and arriving there after 11 o'clock at night. I immediately assembled a council of war, composed of the field officers and company commanders remaining, when it was unanimously agreed that, after spiking the two remaining pieces of artillery, we should attempt to join General Garnett by a march through the mountains to our right. This act was imperative, not only from our reduced numbers, now being about 600, and our being placed between two large attacking armies, but also because at least three-fourths of my command had no rations left; the other one-fourth not having four enough for one meal. Having left directions for Sergeant Walker, and given directions to Assistant Surgeon Taylor to take charge of the sick and wounded in camp, and to show a white flag at daylight, I called the companies together and started at one o'clock a. m., without a guide, to make my way, if possible, over the mountains, where there was not the sign of a path, toward General Garnett's camp. As I remained in camp to see the last company in column, by the time I reached the head of the column, which was nearly a mile long, Captain Lilly's company had disappeared and has not since been heard from.* The difficulties attending my march it

*Captain R. D. Lilly's company was organized at Staunton, and marched from that place for Randolph County June 7, 1861. He was afterwards promoted to General. In the battle near Winchester, July 20, 1864, while commanding Pegram's Brigade, he was wounded three times—first, in the left thigh by a shell; next his right arm was shattered by a minie-ball near the shoulder; and lastly, a minie-ball went through his already injured thigh. Being entirely disabled by his second wound, he dismounted, and received the third wound. Weak and faint, he lay down under a tree. A portion of the Federal army passed over him, and a soldier stopped long enough to take off his field-

would be impossible to exaggerate. We arrived at Tygart's Valley River at 7 p. m., having made the distance of twelve miles in about eighteen hours. Here we were met by several country people, who appeared to be our friends, and who informed us that at Leadsville Church, distant three miles, there was a small camp, composed of a portion of Garnett's command. Leaving Colonel Heck with instructions to bring the command forward rapidly, I hired a horse and proceeded forward until in sight of Leadsville Church, when I stopped at a farmhouse where were assembled a dozen men and women. They informed me that General Garnett had retreated that afternoon up the Leading Creek road, into Tucker County, and that he was being pursued by three thousand of the enemy, who had come from the direction of Laurel Hill as far as Leadsville Church, when they turned up the Leading Creek road in pursuit. This, of course, rendered all chance of joining General Garnett, or escaping in that direction, utterly impossible. Hurrying back to my command, I found them in much confusion, firing random shots in the dark, under the impression that the enemy were surrounding them. Reforming them, I hurried back to the point where we first struck the river, and persuaded a few of the country people to cook all the provisions they had, hoping that it might go a little way toward satisfying the hunger of my almost famishing men.

"I now found, on examining the men of the house, that there was, if any, only one possible means of escape, and that by a road which, passing within three miles of the enemy's camp at Beverly, led over precipitous mountains into Pendleton County. Along this road there were represented to me to be but a few miserable habitations, where it would be utterly impossible for even a company of men to get food; and as it was now 11 o'clock p. m., it would be necessary to leave at once, without allowing them to get a mouthful where they were. I called a council of war, when it was agreed almost unanimously (only two members voting in the negative) that there was left to us nothing but the sad determination of surrendering ourselves prisoners of war to the enemy at Beverly. I was perfectly convinced that an attempt on our part to escape would sacrifice by starvation a large number of the lives of the command."

Colonel Pegram accordingly sent a messenger to Beverly, proposing to surrender and stating that his men were starving. General McClellan sent wagons loaded with bread for the prisoners, and they were conducted to

glass. Left alone for awhile, he crawled to a shady spot among the rocks and leaves. Soon a Federal straggler came up and robbed him of his watch, pocket-book, hat, gold ring and pocket-knife. Next, an Irishman in the Federal army came along, inquired about his injuries, and went nearly a mile to procure water for him. Finally, several of Averell's cavalry gathered near him, and while they stood there a moccasin snake glided across his forehead and stopped near his face. He called to the soldiers and they killed the reptile. His arm was amputated at the shoulder by a Federal surgeon, and his wounded thigh was properly treated. The stolen watch was recovered through the agency of a Federal colonel.—"Annals of Augusta County," page 334.

^AThe following note is from a diary kept at Staunton during the war, by Joseph A. Waddell, whose book is the most interesting account of the war, from a local standpoint, that has appeared. He wrote from day to day of what he saw and heard. Under date of September 21, 1861, he wrote: "A train of wagons has just arrived from Greenbrier River, bringing the remnants of Captain Bruce's company, Twentieth Regiment. Thirty odd men are left of about ninety who went out a few months ago. The regiment was at Rich Mountain when the disaster occurred there, and is completely broken up. Many of the men were captured by the enemy; some disabled by wounds; and some, I presume, killed."

Beverly and placed in comfortable quarters. They numbered 555 officers and men. During the night before the surrender, one officer and forty men went off, preferring to take the chances of escaping to the South. Colonel Pegram had been deceived at Rich Mountain, both as to the number of the Federals and their facilities for getting in his rear. The people of the surrounding country had told him that it was impossible to work round his flank on the south. He afterwards said that had he known his danger, he would have retreated on the night of July 10, blocking the road across Rich Mountain, thus giving Garnett time to retreat by way of Beverly. Pegram's whole force before the battle was 1900, and only 300 took part in the battle on the summit of the mountain. Three days before the fight he had sent an urgent appeal for provisions, which were not sent, and his men fought and retreated on empty stomachs.

At the time the battle at Rich Mountain was fought, Colonel W. Scott, with the 4th Virginia Infantry, was stationed near Beverly, and remained there till the battle was over, and then retreated toward Staunton by way of Huttonsville. He was blamed by the Confederates at the time for not marching to the assistance of Colonel Pegram when attacked. Had he gone up the mountain and attacked the Federals in front and rear, he might have changed the result, at least temporarily. In April, 1862, he felt so keenly the criticism of his actions, that he prepared a carefully written account of all he did and why he did it, showing conclusively that he had obeyed orders as well as he could under the circumstances.* He had been ordered from Staunton to join Garnett at Laurel Hill, and marching with haste with his regiment, he reached Beverly on the night of July 10, 1861, which was the day before the battle. The next morning he moved on toward Laurel Hill, and when he had gone three or four miles, a messenger overtook him, bearing a letter from Colonel Pegram, as follows:

"I think it almost certain that the enemy are working their way around my right flank, to come into this turnpike one and one half miles this side of Beverly. I would suggest you place your regiment in position on that road, and will reinforce you as soon as I get information of the approach of the enemy. I shall at once write a letter to General Garnett, informing him of my opinion as to the movements of the enemy, and of the request I have made to you. I need not tell you how fatal it would be to have the enemy in our rear, as it would entirely cut off our supplies."

It will be observed that Colonel Pegram feared a flank movement across the mountain north of his position, but did not suspect such a movement south of his camp. Yet, at that very moment nearly two thousand Federals were working their way through the woods south of his camp. There was a path across the mountain north of the pike, and it was by this route that Pegram feared a flank movement. When his letter was read by Colonel Scott, that officer turned back and took up his position on the path ready to attack the Union forces should they advance that way. He sent to Leesville for the two cannon, and for a troop of Greyskrier cavalry to station there. The cannon had already been removed to Laurel Hill, and the cavalry refused to obey the order to move, because the order was not in writing. Scarcely had Colonel Scott reached his position when an order came from Garnett for him to stay there, and he did so. By that time the battle had commenced on the mountain, about four miles from Scott's posi-

* The document is published in full in the "Records of the Rebellion."

sition. He could hear the musketry, and presently the artillery opened. He supposed the fighting was at the fort, at the western base of the mountain, six miles distant, and that McClellan had attacked. He remained guarding the path and waiting for news from the battle. Finally John N. Hughes, who lived in Beverly, volunteered to go to Colonel Pegram and bring any message that officer might want to send. He galloped up the road, and never returned. He was killed by Confederates who fired on him by mistake*. Late in the afternoon Lieutenant James Cochrane was sent from the top of Rich Mountain toward Beverly, by Captain De Lagnel to bring up some Confederate cavalry which had been seen in that direction. Cochrane with six men reached Scott's regiment, numbering 570 men, and conducted it up the pike toward the top of Rich Mountain. While ascending the mountain the Confederates met several Rebels on horseback who had been in the battle, and one had been wounded. They were trying to escape, and considered the battle already lost. However, they joined Scott's men in the march to the top of the mountain, but one by one they fell behind and took to flight. The noise of battle was still heard on the summit, which convinced Scott that the battle was not over, and he pushed forward as fast as possible up the pike. But when he reached a point within a mile of the summit, the firing ceased, and there came the prolonged yells and cheers of the victorious Union troops as they swept the Confederates from the field. Colonel Scott had little doubt of what it meant, but he advanced nearly half a mile further till almost in sight of the battlefield.

Halting the troops, Colonel Scott, Lieutenant Cochrane and a few other officers dismounted and walked round a bend of the road from which the top of the mountain was visible. They saw the Federals in possession of the field. Thinking it possible to renew the battle successfully, a reconnoiter was made by a man named Lipford, who volunteered for the service. He passed round the head of the road and almost immediately they heard the order, "Halt! Shoot him," followed by a volley. Lipford did not return, and Colonel Scott, judging that he had been killed, ordered a retreat down the mountain toward Beverly, setting an ambuscade on the way for the Federals, who were supposed to be following. They were not following, however, and Scott's regiment returned to Beverly. It was his purpose to march to Laurel Hill to join Garnett, but before a start was made in that direction two messengers arrived from Laurel Hill with intelligence that Garnett was retreating. It was now after dark on July 11. It was plain that Beverly would soon be in possession of the Federals. The quartermaster stores there were loaded in wagons, making a train a mile long, and Colonel Scott began his retreat toward Huttonsville. The three divisions of the Confederate army during this night were endeavoring to save themselves. Colonel Pegram was trying to reach Garnett's camp on Laurel Hill; Garnett was trying to reach Beverly before McClellan could throw troops across Rich Mountain and cut him off; and Scott, thinking that all was lost, was retreating south from Beverly with such of the military stores

* John N. Hughes was a delegate to the Richmond Convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession, and he signed that document. When he returned to Beverly from Richmond he announced that he had "signed a second Declaration of Independence." He took an active interest in the stirring events about Beverly, and was preparing to enlist in the Confederate army. Unfortunately for him he was drinking hard on the day of the battle and was not in condition to execute the dangerous duty which he undertook, and for that reason he lost his life.

as he could carry away. Each of these Confederate officers was ignorant of what the others were doing. On the night of July 11, General Garnett sent a dispatch to Colonel Scott to hold the Federals in check on the Rich Mountain road until daylight on the 12th. Garnett expected to pass Beverly with his army by that time, and he would have done so, were it not for false information, which will be spoken of presently. The message sent to Colonel Scott reached him at sunrise on the 12th, seven miles south of Beverly, at the Jeff Davis Hotel, a log tavern. It was then too late to obey the orders, and Scott continued his retreat south, and over Cheat Mountain. At Huttonsville the regiment was halted for breakfast, and was joined by Major Tyler and a squad of Confederates who had escaped from Rich Mountain. While eating breakfast at Huttonsville, an order came from Garnett, believed to be the last order he ever wrote. It read:

"General Garnett has concluded to go to Hardy County and toward Cheat bridge. You will take advantage of a position beyond Huttonsville and draw your supplies from Richmond, and report for orders there."

GARNETT'S RETREAT.

Incidental mention has already been made of General Garnett's retreat from Laurel Hill. It will now be spoken of more in detail. On July 9 he withdrew his skirmishers from in front of Belington and concentrated his forces on Laurel Hill, expecting an attack. The 10th passed without an attack, except a shell occasionally fired from the Federal column in the vicinity of Belington. On the afternoon of the 11th he heard the artillery on Rich Mountain, and correctly judged that a battle was in progress. Before sunset he received intelligence that the Federals were flanking Colonel Pegram on Rich Mountain, and he incorrectly judged that they were coming round by the path north of the turnpike. Then it was he sent orders to Colonel Scott to check them on that path, and blockade it. Early in the night of July 11, he learned that McClellan's troops had gained Pegram's rear. Garnett was now satisfied that the position on Rich Mountain could no longer be held; for, if the Confederates were not attacked and driven out by force they would be cut off from their base of supplies at Beverly and starved out. He began hasty preparations to retreat up the valley through Beverly, and it was then that he sent the order to Colonel Scott to hold the Federals on the Rich Mountain road until daylight, hoping to reach Beverly with his army by that time. The outcome of that order has been spoken of elsewhere in this chapter. General Garnett still had time to escape through Beverly toward the south, but he was deceived by false intelligence. His scouts reported early on the morning of July 12 that Union troops were in Beverly, and Garnett concluded that McClellan had already crossed Rich Mountain and had cut off retreat up the valley.[†] The troops mistaken for Federals were the

^{*}The Federals did not occupy the Confederate fortifications at the base of Rich Mountain until the morning of July 12. The troops under Beauregard who had defeated the Confederates on the top of the mountain on the afternoon of the eleventh, camped that night on the field, and the next morning moved down toward Roaring Creek, and occupied the abandoned Confederate works. Troops sent by McClellan from beyond Roaring Creek reached the works about the same time. There were very

[†]Many of the citizens of Beverly and the surrounding country left their homes and went to the South. On the morning after the Rich Mountain fight, the Huttonsville bridge was burned by the retreating Confederates.

ring of Colonel Scott's regiment, then encamping at Beverly. Garnett was at that time within three or four miles of the town. Believing that he was headed off, he turned back and retreated up Limestone Creek, and down Pleasant Run to Cheat River. He camped the night of the 12th on Pleasant Run. The charge was made at the Run, and has been repeated ever since, that Colonel Morris blockaded the road between Beverly and Laurel Hill, thus cutting Garnett off from the Hutton place, and compelling him to retreat through Tucker County. Speaking of this, Colonel Scott says:

"I have been charged with blockading a part of the turnpike between Laurel Hill and Beverly, which precluded Garnett's retreat by that town. The charge is false. No road was blockaded by me. No tree was cut by my orders or by my regiment, anywhere."

General Morris, who confronted Garnett at Laurel Hill, was not slow in discovering that the Confederates had retreated; but he was in poor condition for following. He had very few rations for his troops, and no time to bring more from Philippi. On the 12th he took possession of the deserted camp on Laurel Hill, and that evening moved to Lashawayville, arriving there after Garnett's army had passed that point on its way into Tucker County. A halt was made till four o'clock the next morning when, with 2000 men, he pursued the retreating Confederates, cutting blockades out of the narrow roads leading over the mountain toward Pleasant Run, rain falling nearly the whole forenoon. Below will be found an account of the retreat of the Confederates and the battle at Corrick's[†] Ford, from the official report of Colonel W. H. Taliaferro, of the 23rd Virginia Infantry, who was present on the Confederate side.

"On the evening of July 12, General Garnett bivouacked at Kalot's Ford, on Cheat River, the rear of his column being about two miles back on Pleasant Run. On the morning of the 13th the column was put in motion about 8 o'clock. Before the wagon train, which was very much impeded by the condition of the country roads over which it had to pass, started very bad by the rains of the preceding night, had crossed the first feed, half a mile above Kalot's, the cavalry scouts reported that the enemy were close upon our rear with a very large force of infantry, well supplied by cavalry and artillery. The First Georgia regiment was immediately ordered to take a position across the meadow on the river side and hold the enemy in check until the train had passed the river, and then retire behind the Twenty-third Virginia Regiment, which was ordered to take position and defend the train until the Georgia troops had formed again in some defensible position. By the time the Georgians had crossed the river, and before some of the companies of that regiment who were thrown out to ambuscade the enemy could be brought over, the enemy appeared in sight of our troops, and immediately commenced firing upon them.

A few Confederates found there, and they were nearly all disabled and unable to retreat, but the Federals captured considerable stores; also buggies, carriages, horses and other property of citizens who had been visiting the Confederate camp on a friendly call, and were caught when the battle on the mountain began. There was no road by which they could get away, so they remained, and their buggies fell into Federal hands. One tremendous Confederate from Moorefield was too fat to run, and when Pegram retreated he left the company officer in the trenches where he fled to his fate and was taken rear behind the ramparts. When the Federals saw him sitting on an empty flour barrel behind the ramparts they exclaimed with roar of laughter: "Here's old Seven himself!"

[†]This name is usually written Corrick, but the proper spelling is Corrick.

This was briskly returned by the Georgia regiment, which, after some rounds, retired, in obedience to the orders received. The Twenty-third Virginia and the artillery were halted about three-quarters of a mile below the enemy, and were ordered to occupy a hill commanding the valley through which the enemy would have to approach, and a wood which commanded the road. This position they held until the Georgia regiment was formed some distance in advance; then the former command retired, and again reformed in advance of the Georgians. This system of retiring upon eligible positions for defense was pursued without loss on either side, a few random shots only reaching us, until we reached Corrick's Ford, three and a half miles from Kukor's. This is a deep ford, rendered deeper than usual by the rains, and here some of the wagons became stalled in the river and had to be abandoned.

"The enemy were now close upon the rear. Captain Corley ordered me to occupy the high bank on the right of the ford with my regiment and the artillery. On the right this position was protected by a fence, on the left only by low bushes, but the hill commanded the ford and the approach to it by the road, and was admirably selected for defense. In a few minutes the skirmishers of the enemy were seen running along the opposite bank, which was low and was skirted by a few trees, and were at first mistaken for the Georgians who were known to have been cut off,* but we were soon undeceived, and we opened upon the enemy. The enemy replied to us with a heavy fire from their infantry and artillery. We could discover that a large force was brought up to attack us, but our continued and well directed fire kept them from crossing the river, and twice we succeeded in driving them from the ford. They again came up with a heavy force and renewed the fight. The fire of their artillery was entirely ineffective, although their shot and shell were thrown very rapidly; but they all flew over our heads without any damage, except bringing the limbs of trees down upon us. The working of our guns was admirable, and the effect upon the enemy very destructive. We could witness the telling effect of almost every shot. After continuing the fight until almost every cartridge had been expended and until the artillery had been withdrawn by General Garnett's orders, and as no part of his command was in sight or supporting distance, as far as I could discover, nor, as I afterwards ascertained, within four miles of me, I ordered the regiment to retire. I was induced moreover to do this, as I believed the enemy was making an effort to turn our flank, and without support it would have been impossible to have held the position, as already nearly thirty of my men had been killed or wounded. The dead and severely wounded we had to leave upon the field, but retired in perfect order, the officers and men manifesting decided reluctance at being withdrawn. After marching half a mile I was met by Colonel Starkie, General Garnett's aid, who directed me to move on with my regiment to the next ford, a short distance in advance, where I would overtake General Garnett.

*These Georgians, finding that they could not rejoin the army, retreated up the mountain through the woods, guided by a citizen of that country. They crossed that day to Oglethorpe Fork and camped. The next day they reached Dry Fork, having traveled through woods of tangled laurel which seemed almost impenetrable. They subsisted, in large part, on birch bark, and to this day the route they followed may be discovered by the gnarled and half-peeled birch trees. They reached Pendleton County after several days, and thence reached Maconay.

"On the farther side of this ford I met General Garnett, who directed me to halt my regiment around the turn of the road, some hundred and fifty yards off, and to detail for him ten good riflemen, commanding to me, 'This is a good place behind this driftwood to post skirmishers.' I halted the regiment as ordered, but from the difficulty of determining who were the best shots, I ordered Captain Toombs to report to the general with his whole company. The general, however, would not permit them to remain, but after selecting ten men, ordered the company back to the regiment. I posted three companies on a high bluff overlooking the river, but finding the underbrush so thick that the approach of the enemy could not be well observed, they were withdrawn. A few minutes after this Colonel Stark rode up and said that General Garnett directed me to march as rapidly as I could and overtake the main body. A few minutes afterwards Lieutenant Depriest reported to me that General Garnett had been killed. He fell just as he gave the order to the skirmishers to retire, and one of them was killed by his side.* I marched my regiment four miles on to Parsons' Ford, a half mile beyond which I overtook the main body of our troops, who had been halted there by General Garnett, and had been drawn up to receive the enemy. The enemy did not advance to this ford, and after halting for some time our whole command moved forward, and marched all night on the road leading up Horse Shoe Run, reached about daylight the Red House, in Maryland. At this last place a large force of the enemy under General Hill was concentrated. This body did not attack us, and we moved the same day as far as Greenland, in Hardy County."

The Confederates lost 13 killed in the battle and 15 wounded; at Laurel Hill 2 killed, 2 wounded; at Rich Mountain 45 killed, 20 wounded; and in the battles and retreat they lost about 700 prisoners. At Rich Mountain the Federals had 12 killed and 49 wounded; at Laurel Hill, 4 killed, 6 wounded; at Corrick's Ford 2 killed 7 wounded. The Confederates lost the greater part of their baggage, and retreated with but little food for seven days, reaching Monterey, in Virginia. The Federals at Corrick's Ford were even in a worse famished condition than the Confederates. Many of the latter had breakfast on Pheasant Run that morning. But the Union troops had eaten nothing since the evening before, and some of them nothing since the noon before. Therefore, having marched and fought in rain and mud, with nothing to eat for eighteen or twenty-four hours, they were in poor condition to follow up the victory at Corrick's Ford. They left off pursuit there, but detachments followed the Confederates and picked up plunder fifteen or twenty miles further. General Morris halted his army at Corrick's Ford till the next day, subsisting the men on beef without salt. He marched to St. George on the afternoon of July 14, remained there till the next morning, and then returned to Belington by way of Clover Run. Garnett's army had a narrow escape after the pursuing army from Laurel Hill turned back. Troops to the number of 8000, scattered along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from the Ohio to Cumberland were ordered concentrated at Oakland to cut Garnett off, as soon as it was known he was retreating eastward. While the battle at Corrick's Ford was in progress, troops under General C. W. Hill were moving to occupy the Northwestern pike at the

*The battle of Corrick's Ford was not fought at Corrick's Ford, but at another ford nearly a mile up the river; but General Garnett was killed at Corrick's Ford, which is at the southern end of the town of Parsons, in Tucker County.

Red House. Had they reached that point before the Confederates passed, the whole army would have been captured. But the troops could not be concentrated quickly enough. Cars could not be had to carry them along the railroad, and the result was, the last of the Confederates had passed the Red House about an hour before the van of the Union army arrived there.*

CHEAT MOUNTAIN AND ELKWATER.

In preceding pages of this book an outline was given of the events following the retreat of Garnett, up to and including the skirmishes at Elkwater and Cheat Mountain, and it is not deemed necessary to repeat here what was said there; but it is proper to give some of the minor details of the fighting from the 12th to the 17th of September, 1861. Official reports from the Confederate side are very meager. Five reports were made by so many Union officers, who took part in the skirmishing. These were General Joseph J. Reynolds, who succeeded McClellan as commander of the Federal forces in Northern Virginia; by Colonel Nathan Kimball, Colonel George D. Wagner, Colonel Richard Owen, and Colonel David J. Higgins. On the Confederate side Colonel Albert Rust, of the Third Arkansas Infantry, made a report, and General R. R. Lee gave it a brief mention in a public order. The situation and Lee's plan, on September 12, are thus spoken of:†

"It was decided to attack simultaneously the two Federal fortifications. Eastward from Huttonsville the Cheat Mountain ridge itself in three parallel ridges, and upon the second or central height, Reynolds had placed about 2500 men behind the walls of a log fort. At Elkwater he had 3000 numbers in works, while 3000 waited at Huttonsville to bring succor in either event. Colonel Hunt, of H. R. Jackson's band, recommended the capture of the Cheat Mountain fort, and declared his ability to flank the post and capture it. Upon this representation, Lee decided to make the double assault on the mountain top and at Elkwater. The march was to begin under cover of darkness, and the attacks were to fall in the early morning twilight of September 12. From Jackson's column of 2500, the two regiments of Taliaferro and Fullerton were assigned to Hunt for the first attack on the Federal right and rear of the Cheat Mountain fortress. Jackson was ordered to lead the rest of his men boldly in front along the bottom against this post. From Loring's column of 3000, three regiments under N. R. Anderson were ordered to gain the roadway between the Cheat Mountain fort and Huttonsville, and thence keep in touch of the two flanking regiments under Hunt. Two regiments under Donahue were to break the Federal left and rear of the Elkwater works and hold the road rear in their rear. The remainder under Loring were to move forward along the highway against Elkwater. The troops were to move in silence during the night, and Loring's bands were to awak, as the signal for attack, the guns of Hunt's regiments on the mountain ridge. The initial steps in the movement were completed with grand spirit. Through the heavy

* In Wardell's "Annals of Augusta County," under date of September 6, 1861, the following note occurs: "The joint of this county informs me that the Union men brought from Beverly which our army collected from that place, and shot down numbered in our files, in various stages of want of them half naked. There are twenty-one of them." — Page 322.
† Cf. A. Whittle's Life of Robert R. Lee.

rain and the darkness, marching partly in Cheat River itself and then through the dense forest, over boulders and up steep ascents, the soldiers harried with noiseless tread. The dawn found each column at the appointed place. Anderson and Donaldson reached the rear of the two Federal positions; Loring and Jackson advanced to threaten each position in front. Rast succeeded in placing his hand to the Federal right and rear of the mountain entrenchment. Muskets were loaded and bayonets fixed for the assault. But the signal sounded not. Unfortunately Rast captured some pickets who made him believe that 5000 Federal troops were fortified on the mountain summit awaiting his onset. As the morning dawned, he saw before him heavy shatis and beyond these, entrenchments, and within the entrenchment he saw the soldiers with ready guns. He gave no signal, except the signal to retreat. The other columns grew impatient and strained their ears to catch the sound of musketry fire on the ridge. Rast withdrew and acknowledged his failure. Two days later all the bands were withdrawn to their former camping places. Let it be remembered that widely separated bodies of soldiers seldom make simultaneous attacks. In this case the movement under Lee's own eye at Elkwater was a complete success, but no communication was possible between the wings of his army."

General Lee wrote to his wife saying: "I cannot tell you my regret and mortification at the untoward events that caused the failure of the plan. I had taken every precaution to insure success, and counted on it; but the Ruler of the Universe willed otherwise, and sent a storm to disconcert the plan." To governor Letcher, of Virginia, Lee wrote and freely expressed his disappointment. He said:

"I was sanguine of taking the enemy's works on last Thursday morning. I had considered the subject well. With great effort the troops intended for the surprise had reached their destination, having traversed twenty miles of steep, rugged mountain paths, and the last day through a terrific storm that lasted all night and in which they had to stand drenched to the skin in the cold rain. Still their spirits were good. When the morning broke I could see the enemy's tents on the Valley River on the point on the Huttonsville road just below me. It was a tempting sight. We waited for the attack on Cheat Mountain, which was to be the signal, till 10 a. m. The Federals were cleaning their unserviceable arms. But the signal did not come. All chance for surprise was gone. The provisions of the men had been destroyed the preceding day by the storm. They had nothing to eat that morning; could not hold out another day, and were obliged to be withdrawn. The attack to come off from the east side failed from the difficulties in the way. The opportunity was lost and our plan discovered. It is a grievous disappointment to me I assure you. But for the rainstorm, I have no doubt it would have succeeded. This, governor, is for your own eyes. Please do not speak of it. We must try again. Our greatest difficulty is the roads. It has been raining in these mountains about six weeks. It is that which has paralyzed all our efforts."

It is observable that Lee makes no mention of skirmishing, and were it not for the reports of some of the Federal officers, it might be supposed there was no fighting. But there was considerable maneuvering and not a little fighting. Colonel Rast, who led one of the Confederate detachments, makes the rather epigrammatic announcement as the opening sentence of his report: "The expedition against Cheat Mountain failed." He then pro-

ceeds to explain how and why it happened, and praises the bravery of his own troops, who were from Arkansas, by charging others with cowardice and stating that the cowards were not Arkansans. He says he reached his position in time, notwithstanding the rain, and with his own hands he captured a prisoner. But when he began questioning him, the prisoner's statement of the Union strength upset all the plans of the Arkansas officer, and greatly alarmed him. The prisoner no doubt purposely overestimated the Federal strength, and the Confederate officer not only believed the report, but thought he discovered indications that reinforcements were on their way to the Federals, and he declares he heard the cannon going down the road, and was satisfied there were from 4000 to 5000 men in the entrenchments. Nevertheless he declares he would have attacked them anyhow, but discovered that he could not get near enough to make the attack. The exaggerated strength of the place, learned from prisoners, worked on his imagination until he declared he "could see entrenchments on the south, and outside of the entrenchments, and all round, up to the road, heavy and impassable abatis." He also saw "a fort or a block house on the point or elbow of the road." In addition to this he found in the pocket of one of his prisoners "a requisition for 900 rations, also a letter indicating they had very little sustenance." Therefore he says that one of his officers told him "it would be madness to make an attack"—leaving room for inference that he considered it dangerous to attack men who had very little to eat and wanted "900 rations." He states that he "got near enough to see the men in the trenches." In this trying situation when he could "see the men in the trenches," he declared "most of my command behaved admirably," but, he adds on a second thought, "some I would prefer to be without upon any expedition." Bad luck attended him still further, for of all the prisoners he took, including the one he caught with his own hands, he brought only one away, and says "the cowardice of the guard permitted the others to escape," and adds that the cowardly guards were not from Arkansas. After speaking again of the strength of the Federal camp, he declares "the taking of the picket looked like a providential interposition." Otherwise he might have attacked the camp, and, he says, "they were four times my force." This report was made to General Loring and it contains no account of any fighting, but is teeming with declarations of what he might have done if he had had a chance.

This is the only report made by the Confederate officers engaged, excepting an order by General Lee, September 14, 1861, in which he says:

"The forced reconnaissance of the enemy's position, both at the Cheat Mountain Pass and on the Valley River, having been completed, and the character of the natural approaches and the nature of the artificial defenses exposed, the army of the Northwest will resume its former position at such time and in such manner as General Loring shall direct, and continue its preparations for further operations."

General Reynolds, commander of the Union forces, narrates the various movements as he understood them, up to September 17. Below will be found an extract from his report, written at Elkwater.

"On the 12th the enemy, 9000 strong, with eight to twelve pieces of artillery, under command of General R. E. Lee, advanced on this position by the Huntersville pike. Our advanced pickets gradually fell back to our main picket station, checking the enemy's advance at the Point Mountain turnpike, and then falling back on the regiment. The enemy threw into

the woods at our left front, three regiments, who made their way to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, took a position on the road leading to Huttonsville, broke the telegraph wire, and cut off our communication with Cheat Summit. Simultaneously, another force of the enemy, of about equal strength, advanced by the Staunton pike in the front of Cheat Mountain, and threw two regiments to the right and rear of Cheat which united with the three regiments from the other column of the enemy. Cheat Mountain Pass is at the foot of the mountain, ten miles from the summit. The enemy advanced toward the pass, by which he might possibly have obtained the rear or left of Elkwater, was there met by four companies, which engaged and gallantly held in check greatly superior numbers of the enemy, foiled him in his attempt to obtain the rear or left of Elkwater, and threw him in the rear and right of Cheat Mountain, the companies retiring to the pass at the foot of the mountain. The enemy, about 5000 strong, now closed in on Cheat Summit, and became engaged with detachments from the summit, about 300, who deployed in the woods, held in check the enemy, who did not succeed at any time in getting sufficiently near the field redoubts to give Davis's battery an opportunity of firing into him.

"So matters rested at dark on the 12th, with heavy forces in front and in plain sight of both posts, communication cut off, and the supply train for the mountains loaded with provisions which were needed, waiting for an opportunity to pass up the road. Determined to force a communication with Cheat, I ordered the Thirteenth Indiana to cut their way, if necessary, by the main road, and the Third Ohio and Second Virginia, to do the same by the path. The two commands started at 3 a. m. on the 13th, the former from Cheat Mountain Pass, and the latter from Elkwater, so as to fall upon the enemy, if possible, simultaneously. Early on the 13th the small force of about 300 from the summit engaged the enemy, and with such effect that, notwithstanding his greatly superior numbers, he retired in great haste and disorder, leaving large quantities of clothing and equipment on the ground; and our relieving force, failing to catch the enemy, marched to the summit, securing the provision train, and re-opening our communication. While this was taking place on the mountain, and as yet unknown to us, the enemy, under Lee, advanced on Elkwater, apparently for a general attack. One 10-pounder Parrott gun from Loomis' battery was run to the front three-fourths of a mile and delivered a few shots at the enemy, causing him to withdraw out of convenient range, and doing fine execution. Our relative positions remained until near dark when we learned the result of the movements on the mountain, and the enemy retired somewhat for the night.

"On the 14th early the enemy was again in position in front of Elkwater, and a few rounds were again administered, which caused him to withdraw as before. The forces that had been before repulsed from Cheat returned, and were again driven back by a comparatively small force, from the mountain. The Seventeenth Indiana was ordered up the path to open communication and make way for another supply train, but, as before, found that the little band from the summit had already done the work. During the afternoon of the 14th the enemy withdrew from before Elkwater, and is now principally concentrated some ten miles from this post, at or near his main camp. On the 15th he approached in stronger forces than at any previous time in front of Cheat and attempted a flank movement by the left.

but was driven back by the ever vigilant and gallant garrison of the field redoubt on the summit."

FEDERAL SCOUTS BUSHWHACKED.

On November 12, 1861, a squad of Federals, crossing from Beverly to Dry Fork, piloted by John Snider, were fired upon and six were wounded at the Laurel Fork Ford. The attacking party was composed of citizens, several of whom were from Tucker County. The bushwhackers escaped, but the affair caused the Southern sympathizers of that section much trouble, for very severe measures were adopted against them; and men who had, before that, been unmolested, afterwards found it necessary to sleep many a cold night in the woods.

IMBODEN'S FIRST RAID.

In August, 1862, an important raid was made by General John D. Imboden, of the Confederate army, from Pendleton County, through Randolph, into Tucker, and back again. It was his purpose to attack the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Rowlesburg, in Preston County, but he did not succeed in reaching that point. He set out from Franklin August 14, with about 300 men. He marched through the woods, crossing rivers and mountains, sometimes by a path, but more frequently through the forest, cutting a path where the thickets were densest. He could not average more than twelve or fifteen miles a day. When he reached the eastern base of Cheat Mountain, a little north of and only twelve miles from Beverly, on the Seneca Path, he turned off short to the northward, intending to strike Dry Fork of Cheat a few miles below the mouth of Gladys Fork. There was a squad of forty Federals stationed at the mill of Abraham Parsons, where the town of Parsons now stands. Imboden hoped to take these by surprise. He reached Dry Fork just at dark and halted to eat supper. At 10 o'clock that night he moved forward toward Parsons' mill, ten miles distant. The night was very dark and he made only seven miles by daybreak. He divided his forces, waded Black Fork of Cheat five times, surrounded the mill—only to find the Federals gone in double-quick retreat toward Rowlesburg. Speaking of his failure Imboden wrote two weeks later:

"I afterwards learned that an old fool, a friend, who saw our route the day before, spoke of it to a Union man, who took the news to Beverly and thence a carrier warned the post of my approach just in time for them to see. It was too bad. About fifteen mounted men I had with me came up with them and had a skirmish. No damage done. My infantry was so broken down by twenty-four hours marching that I had to halt a few hours for rest and sleep. During our rest a scoundrel—a sharp, shrewd German—deserted, stole a mule, and went to Beverly and disclosed my numbers and what he suspected of my plans. The commandant at Beverly at once telegraphed to New Creek and 1000 men were sent up to Rowlesburg. Not knowing these facts at the time, I moved on as soon as my men could travel to St. George. Here I got reliable information that the troops from New Creek had reached Rowlesburg. In a short time I also ascertained that they were marching upon St. George and were only a few miles distant. I took from the postoffice such of the records of the bogus county court as I could conveniently carry. I have sent them to Governor Fletcher. I took all the goods (sugar, coffee and medicine) from the store

of Dr. Solomon Parsons, member of the Wheeling Convention and leader of the Lincolnites in Tucker, and left him a receipt for them. He and all the Union men of the county had fled that morning.* I began to fall back up the river. When within five miles of Parsons' Mill my brother George met me and reported a sharp skirmish he had on the Beverly road, near Corrick's Ford, with a Yankee picket or advance guard. Things now began to look ugly. I feared a force from Beverly might reach the mill before me and cut me off from the Dry Fork Pass, in which event I would have been compelled to whip them, or take to the mountains, with the loss of my pack-mules; so I pushed ahead for the mill, and on arriving there found no enemy. I moved up Dry Fork and encamped for the night with my rear safe, and in a position to whip 1000 men in front, should they pursue me. The next day I struck the wilderness again, and in three days reached David's [Slaven's] cabin at the foot of Cheat, on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. We subsisted on potatoes and beef on the most of the route, there being no flour or meal in the country."

It is now known that Imboden's advance down Dry Fork was not betrayed by "a Union man," as he supposed, but by a woman, Miss Jane Snider, who suspected the designs of the Rebels, and rode to Parsons' Mill and warned the Federal garrison at that place in time for the troops to fall back toward Rowlesburg. She was the daughter of John Snider and afterwards married M. V. Bennett. Imboden afterwards ascertained who had betrayed his plans. John Snider was one of the leaders of the Union men on Dry Fork, and he and Imboden seldom crossed each other's paths without an encounter. On the present expedition they met and Imboden thus speaks of it in a letter to Charles W. Russell:

"Just in the edge of the village of St. George I was riding some distance ahead of my men and suddenly came upon old John Snider and one of the Parsons, both armed with rifles. Parsons fled and I got into a fight with Snider. Just as he was aiming at me with his long rifle, I fired at him with my revolver. He dropped his gun like a hot potato and leaned forward on the neck of his horse and escaped into the laurel. Pursuit was immediately made but he escaped. I have since learned from some refugees that I wounded him badly, though I fear not mortally. I had a fair shot at about fifty yards and aimed at his hips. We were bushwhacked half a day in Tucker as we fell back from St. George by Union men, but the cowardly scoundrels went so far up into the mountains that they only hit one of my men, and he was but slightly wounded in the foot. I sent out a whole company once to try to catch three of these bushwhackers, but it

*Dr. Parsons had received a few weeks previous to that time a large bill of goods, and believing that no Confederate would venture into that region, he sent a taunting message to Imboden to "come and get the goods." To the doctor's surprise and chagrin Imboden arrived and carried off the merchandise. This store stood a half mile from St. George. It was a success for Imboden, but the Southern sympathizers in Tucker County paid dearly for it. Captain Kellogg, of the 123d Ohio, levied assessments on them to pay Dr. Parsons. The amount collected was five or six times as much as the value of the goods taken. The order served on the citizens read as follows: "You are hereby notified that, upon an assessment, you are assessed——dollars to make good the losses of Union men. If you fail to pay in three days, your property will be confiscated, your house burned and yourself tried."

"By order H. A. G. MILROY."

The assessments ranged from \$7 to \$800. Nicholas Parsons paid \$600; William R. Parsons \$700, and Abraham Parsons \$800. These were all relatives of Dr. Parsons.

was impossible to come up with them in the brush. If I had caught them I intended hanging them in five minutes. The greatest difficulty in our way out here is the infernal Union men. They carry intelligence and bushwhack us whenever they can, and yet will swear allegiance a dozen times a day. The proper policy to be pursued toward Union men who are not in arms as soldiers is one of the most difficult problems I have to deal with. Thus far I have scrupulously abstained from molesting them in any manner, with the exception of four Upshur men that I have arrested as spies. My purpose has been to arrest all office holders under the bogus government and seize their property for confiscation, but not to interfere with private citizens, hoping that a policy of conciliation would bring back many of them; but the enemy are treating our friends in the Northwest with such brutal cruelty that I fear nothing short of retaliation will check them. I am tempted sometimes to write to President Davis and tell him what I have seen and heard in the Northwest and ask his instructions. (Great God! but my blood boils when listening to such statements as I have heard from men and women during my recent expedition. No Oriental despot ever inspired such mortal terror by his iron rule of his subjects as is now felt by the men and women of the Northwest. Grown up men come to me stealthily through the woods to talk to me in a whisper of their wrongs. They would freely have given me bread and meat but dared not do so. They begged me, in some instances, to take it, apparently by force, so that they might not be charged with feeding us voluntarily. Men offered to sell me large lots of cattle secretly, if I would then send armed men to seize and carry off the property.)"

IMBODEN'S SECOND RAID.

In November, 1862, Imboden again led an expedition from east of the Alleghanies, through Randolph County, toward Rowlesburg, but again he turned back when he reached St. George. This was a remarkable expedition in some respects, and his men suffered much from hunger and cold. On November 7 he left his camp on the South Fork, in Hardy County, with 310 well mounted men, supplied with blankets and overcoats. He intended to destroy the bridge over Cheat River at Rowlesburg. He had written to General Lee that he thought he could do it. He set forward in a snow storm, and at midnight reached the base of the Alleghanies, six miles north of the mouth of Seneca, and halted till daybreak. He was thirty-eight miles from St. George and expected to reach it early in the night of the 8th. He crossed the mountain by a miserable path at the head of the Right Fork of Red Creek near the common corner of Grant, Pendleton, Randolph and Tucker Counties. He passed down Dry Fork, following a path poor enough at best, but worse than usual on account of the deep snow. He had mountain howitzers on the backs of mules. One of the mules lost his footing and rolled down the mountain into the river, with the cannon on him. The animal and cannon were rescued, and the march proceeded. So rough was the way that when night came they had made less than twenty miles and were obliged to wait for the moon to rise at midnight. While waiting they were visited by a citizen from Tucker County who gave them the startling intelligence that 600 Federals had that day passed up Dry Fork. Fortunately for Imboden, they had passed the mouth of Red Creek before he reached that point, and he thus missed them. He also was told that General Milroy with 4000 men had moved from Beverly toward Mon

Indubitably he believed that no effort would be made to capture him so soon as it was found he was in this country; but he decided to move on to Mt. Gilead anyway, and take chances on getting out. The snow storms still continued, but he succeeded in reaching Mt. Gilead by daylight on November 8, and surrounded the town, and captured Captain William Hall and thirty-four men who had fortified the Court House. The prisoners were paroled after Indubson had stripped them of their overcoats and blankets.

The Confederates retraced up Dry Fork and reached the mouth of the Little Fork at 6 o'clock at night, and halted there till midnight when they crossed the mountains up Little Fork, following part of the distance a path which Indubson had cut while on his expedition the previous August. He had received information that no effort would be made from Beverly to hem him off, and for this reason he had to the wilderness where he could fight on an equal footing with any force that could be sent against him. At 4 p.m., November 10, he reached a point ten miles east of Beverly, and went into camp. This was the first night's rest for either men or horses since starting. While there, a man who had been in Beverly that day came to him and gave him details of the movements of the Federals, and informed him that Milroy's baggage train was probably at Camp Harshaw, on the Cheat River, and Indubson decided to attack it and take his chances of passing through Monongalia County. The next morning he set forward through the woods by the aid of a guide, and tramped all day on a road with 35 degrees incl., reaching a place called Upper Sinks late in the afternoon, on the head of Cheat River, and eleven miles from Camp Harshaw. On the morning of November 12, six of his horses were unable to proceed, and they were left, the riders following on foot. The day was dark. The snow had changed to rain. Before noon the guide became bewildered, and the party was lost in one of the most impenetrable pine forests of the Alleghenies. At night they found themselves again at the bridge where they had started that morning. A day had been lost, and Indubson gave up the plan of attacking Milroy's camp. The sun came up clear on the morning of November 13, and the hungry and bewildered Confederates moved forward and that day crossed the Allegheny near the line between Monongalia and Highland counties, to the head of the North Fork. After many narrow escapes, Indubson reached his camp on the South Fork, only to find that General Foster had destroyed it and killed, captured or dispersed the men he had left there.

CONFEDERATE RAID UNDER JENKINS.

In the later part of August and the first of September, 1862, General A. H. Jenkins with a Confederate cavalry force of 300 men, made his famous raid across West Virginia into Ohio. He passed through Randolph County, and in conjunction with Indubson, planned an attack on Beverly, but before that large reinforcements had arrived he abandoned the plan and moved to Monongalia. In his report of the expedition, written September 10, he says of his operations near Beverly:

I was at the time under the impression that the enemy had but 250 men at Beverly, and intended to attack him at that point; but hearing that General Foster had reached there with 1000 men, I determined, if possible, to surround the garrison. For this purpose we used every effort to cover

the enemy's scouting party of six we captured two and killed one, the latter being one of the two brothers named Gibson. We endeavored to take him alive, but he refused to surrender and resisted to the last. From the two prisoners I learned that General Kelley was certainly in Beverly with some 1500 men. In the meantime I had been communicating with Imboden who was at Cheat Mountain with a small force, and with whom I had contemplated a co-operation. But the enemy's force being nearly twice as large as ours, made even a combined attack impracticable. I now determined, if possible, to throw my force in General Kelley's rear, and learning that an immense amount of supplies, and several thousand stands of arms had been collected at Buckhannon, I concluded to strike at that point. To effect this we had to cross Rich Mountain by a mere bridle path, or rather trail, which was often undiscoverable, and which for thirty miles passed through the most perfect wilderness I ever beheld. It was indeed an arduous task for men and horses. Some of the latter were completely broken down and left behind, and a few of the men were also physically unable to make the march, and returned to General Loring's camp. After twenty-four hours of continuous marching, with intervals for rest, we suddenly entered upon the fertile country watered by the tributaries of the Buckhannon River. Here we halted, and after a few hours for rest and food, we proceeded down French Creek toward the town of Buckhannon. The population along this creek is among the most disloyal in all Western Virginia. We emerged so suddenly from the mountains, and by a route hardly known to exist, and if known, deemed utterly impassable for any number of men, that the inhabitants could scarcely comprehend that we were Southern troops."

General Jenkins proceeded to Buckhannon, captured the town, and destroyed considerable quantities of military stores which he could not convey away. He then proceeded to Weston, and captured every town he came to on his march to the Ohio River.

THE GREAT RAID OF 1863.

In the spring of 1863 occurred the memorable and destructive raids of General John D. Imboden and General W. E. Jones, whose combined force of 4000 Confederates swept across West Virginia. The principal incidents of the raids are given elsewhere in this book. More particular mention of the raid through Randolph County will now be given. Imboden entered the valley above Huttonsville on the evening of April 23, having marched four days in drenching rains. The country was almost impassable on account of mud, and what otherwise would have been a dashing movement, was a slow and toilsome march, dragging cannon and wagons through mire to the axles, and the cavalry struggling through mud to the saddle skirts. The movement, however, was sufficiently rapid to hurry out every Federal detachment and picket from Beverly to Spencer, north to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Imboden, who passed through Randolph, Barbour, Upshur to Lewis, had little fighting. Jones, who marched from Moorefield by the Northwestern Pike, to Rowlesburg, Morgantown, Fairmont, to Lewis County, had more fighting. Imboden had 3965 men, 700 of them cavalry; Jones had a force about half as strong. In passing over Cheat Mountain before descending into the valley Imboden's men waded through snow twenty inches deep. The Confederates hoped to fall on Beverly by surprise, but in this they were disappointed. The Federal authorities were

looking for a raid; and when Imboden reached the Greenbrier River he learned that John Slayton, a Federal scout, with a squad of seven soldiers, had passed there at sunrise that morning, hurrying to Beverly with intelligence that the Rebels were coming. Imboden had anticipated something of the kind, and thought he had taken ample steps to prevent it. He had sent a squad of soldiers from Pocahontas County on April 20 to the Greenbrier River to stop any one passing who might alarm Beverly, but Slayton took to the mountains north of the pike, and although Imboden sent twenty men in pursuit of him, they failed to stop him, and the Confederate general presumed that he could not take Beverly by surprise. Nevertheless, he pushed on to Huttonsville, and found that the Union picket of thirty men usually kept there had been withdrawn at 11 o'clock that morning. This convinced him that the forces at Beverly were ready to fight or retreat, and he went into camp at Huttonsville. A little after midnight his advance picket reported a body of Federals as having passed up on the east side of the river to a mountain, overlooking the Confederate camp, and after an hour the same party returned toward Beverly. Imboden had sent a company of infantry on the first alarm to attempt to cut them off, but they failed to do so. He at that time estimated the Union force at Beverly at 1500. The actual force there was 878 men, with two cannon. Colonel George R. Latham was in command of the Federal force. The next morning, April 24, Colonel Latham advanced toward Huttonsville to meet the Confederates, and met the advance guard five miles above Beverly and skirmishing began. He was unable to hold them in check. They steadily advanced, and he as steadily fell back, unable to see much on account of the fog which had settled down on the valley and hills, but judging from the assurance with which they advanced he concluded that they meant to march to Beverly. He also listened to the portentous rumble of the cannon over the few places in the roads where the deep mud did not deaden the noise, and his scouts counted six pieces of Rebel artillery moving down the valley. By noon the Union force had been pushed back within two and a half miles of Beverly, and one hour later the fog lifted, and the Confederate army was in full view. In his official report Colonel Latham says:

"I took a strong position on the south side of the town, commanding the entire valley and the Staunton turnpike above, but flanked by back ridges on each side. About 2 o'clock the action was opened with artillery and infantry, skirmishing at long range. A large force of the enemy's cavalry and a part of his artillery were now seen advancing on the back road west of the valley, toward the road leading from Beverly to Buckhannon, and actually turning our right. This movement it was impossible for us to counteract, though the river intervening we were not in much danger of an actual attack from this force. The object of this movement was to prevent our retreat toward Buckhannon. Three regiments of his infantry were at the same time continually advancing through the woods, pressing back our skirmishers toward our front and left, his artillery playing directly in front, with two regiments of infantry in reserve. At 4 p. m. the action had become quite brisk along our whole line; our skirmishers were driven in on our front, and the enemy had advanced within canister range. The commands of his officers could be distinctly heard, and he was pressing well beyond our left. Shortly after this I received orders to fall back. I immediately set my train in motion; destroying my public stores of all kinds, and about 5 p. m. drew off my forces. The movement was executed in perfect

order, and though the enemy pressed our rear for six miles, and twice charged us with his cavalry, there was no confusion, no hurry, no indecent haste. His cavalry charges were handsomely repulsed, and he learned to follow at a respectful distance. We marched nine miles, and having gained a safe position, rested for the night, our pickets and those of the enemy being a mile apart.

The next morning the Federals continued their retreat to Belington, thence to Philippi where they camped over night, and the next day, April 21, reached Buckhannon, where other Union forces were gathered, making a total of 2800, which was sufficient to have stopped the advance of Imboden, especially as General Mulligan was holding his own in Barbour County, and keeping back the Confederates who were trying to reach Philippi. But the Union troops at Buckhannon were ordered by General Roberts to retreat to Clarksburg, and the way was open for Imboden to advance, and he was not slow in taking advantage of it. No better history of the raid, as it affected Randolph County, has been written than that contained in General Imboden's official report from which the following somewhat lengthy extract is taken, beginning with the march from Huttonsville toward Beverly:

"It continued to rain all night, and the morning of the 24th was one of the most gloomy and inclement I ever saw. At an early hour I started all my infantry down through the plantations on the east side of the river, where they were joined by four guns of my battery seven miles above Beverly. The cavalry and a section of artillery took the main road on the west side of the river, under Colonel George W. Imboden, with orders as soon as they discovered the enemy to be in Beverly to press forward and gain possession of the road leading to Buckhannon, and cut off retreat by that route. About five miles above Beverly the cavalry advance met a man, who, as soon as he saw them, fled. They fired upon him, but he escaped. It turned out to be the bogus State Sheriff of Randolph County, named J. P. Phares, who, though shot through the lungs, succeeded in reaching Beverly and gave the alarm. About the same time, on the east side of the river we captured a storage train and its escort. I learned from the prisoners that the enemy was in ignorance of our approach; but as soon as Phares reached town and gave the alarm, the whole force was drawn up to fight us. About a mile above the town they opened upon the head of my column with artillery. On reconnoitering their position, I found them strongly posted on a plateau fifty or sixty feet above the river bottom and commanding it and the road for more than a mile so completely that to attack in front would probably involve the loss of hundreds of my men before I could reach them. I at once resolved to turn their position by making a detour of over two miles across a range of steep and densely wooded hills, and attempt to get round to the north of the town. To occupy their attention I placed a rifle piece on the first hill and engaged their battery. The cavalry, under a dangerous fire, dashed forward and gained the Beckhannon road west of the river, and cut off retreat by that route. The enemy immediately began to fall back below the town, leaving a strong force of skirmishers in the woods, which my infantry had to pass. A running fight was kept up more than two miles through these woods, and a little before sunset I had succeeded in gaining the north side of the town, but too late to cut off retreat toward Philippi. The enemy was in full retreat and about one third of the town in flames when I gained their origi-

nal flank. We pursued until dark but could not overtake them. My cavalry attempted to intercept them from the west side of the river at or near Laurel Hill, but the difficulty and the depth of the ford and the lateness of the hour prevented it.

"I have been thus minute in these details to explain why we did not capture the whole force at Beverly. Slayton was unable to cross Cheat River, owing to the high water, and they were really ignorant of our approach until the wounded man gave the alarm. We found him in almost a dying condition, though he will probably recover. The attack was so sudden that the enemy could not remove his stores or destroy his camp. His loss was not less than \$100,000, and about one-third of the town was destroyed in burning his stores. I lost three men, so badly wounded that I had to leave them in Beverly. The enemy's loss was trifling.

"On the morning of the 25th my cavalry reported the road toward Philippi impracticable for artillery or wagons, on account of the depth of the mud, in places coming up to the saddle-skirts of the horses. I also ascertained that General Roberts, with a considerable force was at Buckhannon, and I doubted the prudence of going directly to Philippi until this force was dislodged from my flank. I sent off two companies of cavalry, under Major D. B. Lang, to try to open communication with General Jones,* from whom I had not heard anything, and resolved to cross Rich Mountain, and either move directly on Buckhannon, or by a country road leaving the turnpike four miles beyond Roaring Creek, get between Philippi and Buckhannon, and attack one or the other, as circumstances might determine.

"On the evening of the 26th I crossed Middle Fork and encamped about midway between Philippi and Buckhannon, some twelve miles from each, sending all my cavalry forward to seize and hold the bridge across Buckhannon River, near its mouth. Considerable cannonading was heard at this time in the direction of Philippi, which I supposed to proceed from the enemy we had driven from Beverly, in an attempt to prevent Major Lang from going towards the railroad, where I expected him to find General Jones; but at 11 p. m. Colonel Imboden informed me that the Beverly force had passed up toward Buckhannon at sunrise that morning, and that there was a fresh brigade at Philippi, reported by citizens to have arrived the night before from New Creek, under command of General Mulligan, and that the cars had been running all the night previous, and other troops were in the vicinity. He requested me to send two regiments of infantry and a section of artillery to the bridge that night, as he was apprehensive of attack. He also informed me that he had captured a courier from Buckhannon, and that two others had escaped and gone back to the place. This information was all confirmed by two citizens who arrived at my camp from Webster. I resolved to send forward the reinforcements asked for, and as my troops were all very tired, I sent for my colonels to ascertain which regiments were in the best condition to make the march that night. Knowing that General Mulligan was east of the Alleghanyes when our expedition set out, and not hearing from General Jones, it was the opinion of all present that he had failed to reach or interrupt communication on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and that our position was exceedingly critical if the enemy had control of that road, as he could

*General Jones was then moving through Preston, Monongalia and Marion Counties.

throw the whole division upon us in a few hours, and, if we were beaten, could cut off our retreat at Laurel Hill, Beverly and at Buckhannon or Weston. I concurred in the opinions of my colonels that in the view of this new information it would be extremely imprudent to advance farther or remain where we were, with the danger of being overwhelmed and cut off in a few hours, and that the safety of the command required that we should fall back to a position where escape would be possible if we were overwhelmed." Accordingly we marched back to Roaring Creek on the 27th. The road was so bad that it took from 5 a. m. until 3 p. m., nine hours, to accomplish two miles, and the command did not reach the camp until in the night. Having recalled my cavalry from Buckhannon Bridge, I sent forward a scout that night toward Buckhannon, which returned after midnight, reporting that the enemy had burned the bridges across Middle Fork and the Beckhannon Rivers, and retreated that night from Buckhannon, blocking the road behind them.

"On the 28th I passed on to within four miles of Buckhannon, and the next morning took possession of the town with a regiment, which I crossed over on the debris of the burnt bridge. The enemy had burned all his stores here and destroyed two pieces of artillery, which he was unable to move. On account of the extraordinary bad roads, I had been compelled to leave at the Greenbrier River, east of Cheat Mountain, forty-odd barrels of flour, and also several barrels in Beverly. Our horses were giving out in large numbers, and some dying from excessive labor and insufficient sustenance. Not being able to cross my artillery and horses over the river, on my arrival I ordered a raft to be constructed, and the country to be scoured in every direction for corn and wheat; impressed two miles and ran them day and night. Grain was very scarce and had to be procured in small quantities, sometimes less than a bushel at a house. I employed a considerable portion of my cavalry in collecting cattle and sending them to the rear. I required everything to be paid for at fair prices, such as were the current rates before we arrived in the country. This gave general satisfaction in the country, and our currency was freely accepted. On the 29th I received my first information from General Jones, and on the same day I ascertained that the enemy was massing his troops at Janelew, a village about midway between Buckhannon and Clarksburg, and fortifying his position. The 30th was spent in collecting corn and cattle.

"On May 1, hearing nothing further from General Jones, I sent Colonel Imboden to Weston with his regiment of cavalry. He found the place evacuated and the stores destroyed, but got confirmation of the fact that the enemy was at Janelew. Fearing that General Jones had been cut off in his effort to join me, I gave orders that night to move early the next morning to Philippi. My raft was completed and I was ready to cross the river. Just as we commenced moving on the morning of the 2nd, a courier arrived with the intelligence that General Jones was within six miles. On receiving this information I changed my direction of march toward Weston,

^{"General Jones had, at that time, succeeded in cutting the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but he had been delayed five hours at Greenland Gap, Grant County, by 80 Union troops under Captain Martin Wallace, who fortified themselves in a log church in the pass and held the Confederates in check until General Mulligan had passed west over the railroad with his command. Soon after Mulligan had passed, General Jones stormed the church, and sent cavalry to Oakland to cut the railroad. They arrived too late to intercept Mulligan, but prevented reinforcements from following him. For further particulars of the movements of Jones and Mulligan see a preceding chapter of this book.}

feeling confident that with General Jones' brigade and my own force united we would be strong enough to hold our own and probably defeat the enemy at Jane's or Clarksburg.

WILLIAM L. JACKSON'S RAID.

The next military movement in Randolph County was the advance of General William L. Jackson with 1200 Confederates against Beverly; his skirmishes with Colonel Thomas M. Harris, and his retreat before General Averell who came up with reinforcements. The Confederates entered Randolph July 1, 1863, by three routes, intending to surround Beverly and capture the Union force of about 800 stationed there. One division of Confederates advanced from Pocahontas County, by way of Valley Head; another division advanced by the Staunton and Parkersburg pike, through Chest Pass, while a third division made its way through woods and by mountain paths by way of Slaven's Cabin, and emerged below Beverly on the Philippi pike. This detachment was under Colonel A. C. Dunn, and he was to attack Beverly from the north when he heard the cannon which would be fired as a signal for attack. Jackson made all his arrangements to surround Beverly and leave no room for retreat for the Union forces. He sent two companies under Major J. B. Lady to make their way through the woods along the base of Rich Mountain, and seize and hold the Buckhannon road, and also to attack Beverly when the signal cannon were heard. As a guard against an attack on Major Lady's rear from the direction of Buckhannon, Sergeant Rader with a squad of twenty men was sent to the Middle Fork Bridge, eighteen miles west of Beverly. He seized the bridge and held it. On July 2 Jackson's main forces reached Huttonsville, and he threw his scouts around the Federal picket posts and captured every picket on the Huttonsville road to within a mile and a half of Beverly—twenty-eight in all. He believed he was about to surprise the town, but his plans were betrayed by a woman, whose name he does not mention in his report of the expedition. She informed the Federals of the proximity of Confederates, and Colonel Harris telegraphed to General Averell for reinforcements, and Averell advanced with three regiments of cavalry from Philippi, having first telegraphed Harris to hold out if possible. Averell had but lately taken charge of the Union forces in this section, having succeeded General Roberts in command.

Gen. Jackson moved cautiously toward Beverly, sending 200 men across the river to attack the right of the Union position, and purposely delaying his attack to give Colonel Dunn time to get in position. When the Confederates reached the Burnt Bridge, two miles above town, the skirmishing began, the Federals falling back slowly toward the town, and the Confederates advancing. Believing that all was in readiness for the attack and that he had Beverly surrounded, Jackson, at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of July 2, fired the signal cannon for the battle to begin. There was no response from Dunn, and General Jackson, from the summit of a hill, searched the country beyond Beverly to see where the troops under Dunn were. Nothing of them could be seen, and the attack was still further delayed to give them more time to get into position. Finally Jackson began the battle, but found that his artillery was no match for that of the union forces. Not more than one shell in fifteen exploded, while scarcely a Federal shell failed to

RANDOLPH'S SHARE IN THE CIVIL WAR.

explode.* The Union force occupied Butcher Hill, now called Mount Isen-Night came, and Dunn still did not put in an appearance, nor had he come in sight by the next morning. Jackson grew desperate, and proposed to assault the Federal position without the assistance of Dunn's forces; but a few minutes later, while again looking beyond Beverly for the long-delayed troops that were to attack from that quarter, he beheld a sight which instantly changed all his plans. Instead of Dunn, he saw three regiments of cavalry, led by Averell in person, sweeping up the valley. Jackson sent couriers to call in his out-lying detachments and fled up the valley to Huttonsville, pursued by Averell, with skirmishing; but the Confederates did not stop to risk a general battle. They retreated over the mountain, back to Virginia. There had been but little fighting, the Rebels losing four killed, five wounded. The Union forces lost fifty-five prisoners.

It is to be noted that the Confederate general blamed his subordinate, Colonel Dunn, with the miscarriage of the expedition, and his failure to take Beverly; and the Federal general blamed his subordinate, Colonel Harris, with the failure to capture the Confederate force. Colonel Dunn had reached his position, but some one told him of Averell's advance, and he retreated, just before the Union troops surrounded his position. General Jackson placed him under arrest. Averell says: "Had Colonel Harris furnished me with timely warning of the approach of the enemy, I should have killed, captured or dispersed his entire command. As it was he received but a slight lesson."^t

General Averell stationed a strong force at Beverly during the remainder of the summer of 1863, and posted pickets on the roads leading east and south. Occasionally these pickets had skirmishes with scouting parties of Confederates. On September 25 a picket of thirty men on the Seneca Trail, where it crosses Cheat, nine miles northeast of Beverly, was attacked and captured by one hundred Confederates under Major D. B. Lang, who were returning from a raid into Barbour County. Two Federals were wounded and one was drowned in trying to escape across Cheat. Four days before that, Averell's picket had a fight on Shaver Mountain with a scouting party, defeated it, killing Wash Taylor, wounded another man and captured two. The report that a squad of thirty Confederates were at the same time moving into Tucker County, caused Averell to send a force after them. On the same night three or four rockets were sent up on the mountain west-southwest of Beverly, and a strong Federal scouting party was sent to ascertain what it meant. Nothing was discovered.

MAJOR HOUSTON HALL'S DEFEAT.

On the morning of October 29, 1864, a peculiar, and for the Confeder-

^{*}The Federals had a rifled Parrott gun on the hill where J. B. Ward's house now stands, and the artillermen had practised firing at targets and trees a mile or two beyond the river, until they became remarkably accurate. The Confederates planted a cannon on the present farm of M. J. Cobert, and a lively artillery duel resulted. But the distance was too great for accuracy, and the Federals moved their cannon forward to the spot where D. E. Baker now lives, and the first shot cut the axle of the Confederate carriage.

^tIt has been asserted, and the truth vouches for by reliable men, that the real trouble with Colonel Dunn, and the cause of his failure, was that two barrels of excellent Randolph County whiskey fell into his hands in an evil hour, and that he and his men were so drunk they did not know whether they were Confederate or Union soldiers.

ates a disastrous attack was made by 300 Rebels under Major Houston Hall upon a force of about equal strength under Colonel Robert Youart, stationed at Beverly. The following account of it is from Colonel Youart's report; Major Hall made no report of the fight:

"Major Hall with a force of Confederates 300 strong, from Jackson's command made an attack on this detachment at 5 a. m. They expected to surprise us and catch the command asleep. As it was, the men were in rank for reveille roll-call. The Rebels had flanked the mounted pickets and patrols and crept up to the inner and dismounted picket line, 150 yards from camp. At the picket's challenge, they charged with a yell for the camp, over an open field. The men of my command, at the Rebel Yell, broke into the huts for their arms. The front company was thrown out as skirmishers, but the Rebel line swept it back. The other companies had half formed when the Rebel fire scattered the 125 unarmed men of my command through the camp, and broke up for a time all organization. Then began a struggle among the quarters. In the darkness, friend and foe were hardly distinguishable. Both parties were taking and guarding prisoners at the same time. The Rebel force was divided and one half was shifted to the rear of camp. When day broke, I with other officers had rallied and formed about fifty men, and ordered a charge on the force in the rear. The Rebels were started. A second charge routed them. I then turned my attention to the force in front and routed it. I ordered immediate pursuit, which resulted in the capture of nearly all the force operating in the front of camp. Our loss was eight killed, twenty-three wounded and thirteen captured. The Rebel loss was, four drowned while trying to escape; twenty-five wounded and ninety-two captured."

BEVERLY TAKEN BY ROSSER.

On January 11, 1865, Beverly was captured by 300 Confederates under General Rosser, who made a night attack, killing six, wounding twenty-three and taking 580 prisoners. The Federal forces were commanded by Colonel Robert Youart. From the standpoint of complete surprise and a small force capturing a larger, the feat was not many times surpassed during the war. General Crook appointed two officers to examine into the capture of Beverly, and following is a portion of the report, made by Colonel Nathan Wilkinson, one of the officers. It is the fullest account of the affair to be found in the official records of the war. No report of it exists from the Confederate standpoint, except a brief note by General Lee addressed to the Secretary of War of the Southern Confederacy, on January 15, 1865, which is as follows:

"General Early reports that Rosser, at the head of 300 men, surprised and captured the garrison at Beverly, Randolph County, on the 11th instant, killing and wounding a considerable number, and taking 580 prisoners. His loss slight."

Colonel Wilkinson in his report filed a map of Beverly and the roads by which it could be approached, and located the pickets and sentinels at the time the attack was made, and then says:

"The pickets during the day were posted as follows: At Russell's, on the Philippi road, a corporal and three men; at the Burnt Bridge, on Staunton pike, four mounted men; at the bridge on the Buckhannon road, in the town, a corporal and three men, and sentinels beyond. At dark the pickets were withdrawn from Russell's and Burnt Bridge, and in their

stand single sentinels were posted. These night sentinels were respectively about 400 yards from camp and about 300 yards from each other, all were relieved from camp every two hours. The enemy, about 700 mounted men, wearing U. S. overcoats, under General Rosser, came in from Crab Bottom by the Staunton and Beverly pike. At the foot of Chest Mountain they left the pike and took a road leading on the east side of the Valley River, and made a detour around the camp and town on an old dirt road, and formed their line of battle in a hollow, within 450 yards of the camp. The sentinel saw the Rebels approaching, and challenged them, "Who comes there?" The reply was, "Friends." He moved toward them and was captured. Rebels forcing the doors of the quarters, demanding a surrender. The surprise was complete. Our forces did not have time to rally even one company together. Quite a number of the officers of both regiments were examined and all testified that they had repeatedly called the attention of the commanding officer to the insufficiency of the guard for picket duty. Lieutenant Colonel Youast himself states that owing to the severity of the weather, the high water in the rivers, and the statements of the citizens that it was impossible for the enemy to attack at that time of the year, he felt perfectly secure.

"Major Butters testified that he notified Lieutenant-Colonel Furney that the guard was insufficient, and if the forces were attacked they would be captured. At that time Furney was in command at Beverly during the absence of Colonel Youast at Cumberland, Maryland. Youast returned from Cumberland and resumed command two days before the attack by General Rosser. The testimony was that all the officers of the Thirty-fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry were quartered in town, not one with the regiment, and it has been unofficially reported to me that on the evening previous to the attack there was a ball in the town which was largely attended by officers who remained there till a late hour of the night. From the evidence produced it appears that the whole command was latterly in a very loose state of discipline."

About 400 Federals escaped to Philippi, many of them without arms. Their supplies at Beverly nearly all fell into the hands of the Confederates. General Crook, when he forwarded the testimony to headquarters, recommended "that Colonels Furney and Colonel Youast be dismissed the service for disgraceful neglect of their commands, and for permitting themselves to be surprised and the greater part of their commands captured, in order that worthy officers may fill their places, which they have proved themselves incompetent to hold." The Federal authorities spoke of withdrawing all forces from Beverly, declaring that the leaving of a small body of troops there served only as a bait to the Rebels. The town was never after that attacked.¹

¹It was on this occasion that Rosser burned the bridge across the river at Beverly. Colonel Youast was away at the hotel when the attack was made. He left his orders settled in his sight, and it is still in possession of A. Buckley of Beverly. A copy of that date is given.

"Rosser went upon a raid
And captured Youast's whole brigade."

²Whidbey's Journal, published in the "Annals of Augusta County," 1894, under date of January 25, 1865. "The prisoners captured by Rosser at Beverly (over 400) were sent

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off by railroad to-day. They suffered greatly from cold and hunger, as our soldiers have. Several of them died on the way to Staunton, and others will probably not survive long. After the train started I saw one of the prisoners lying on the pavement at the corner of the Court-House yard. A crowd was around him, some of whom said he was dying. He was taken to the Confederate military hospital."

Many of the prisoners were marched from Beverly to Staunton barefoot through the snow.



The Sugartree under which General Rosecrans and his officers met to arrange the final details for attacking the Confederates at Rich Mountain, July 11, 1861.

CHAPTER XXI

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MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS OF RANDOLPH.

The highest point in Randolph County is Snyder Knob, on Cheat Mountain, near the Pocahontas line. It is 4730 feet, and is only 130 feet below the highest summit in West Virginia. The

lowest point in the county is the bed of Shaver's Fork of Cheat, where it crosses the Randolph-Tucker line. The point is 1785 feet. There is not twenty-five feet difference in the altitude of Shaver's Fork at that point and the bed of the Valley River, where it crosses the line into Barbour County. The vertical range of the county—from the highest point to the lowest point—is 2945. It is, of course, understood that all altitudes are measured from sea level; and when a point is stated to be 4730 feet, it is meant that it is that high above the level of the ocean.* The ground on which the Court House in Beverly stands is exactly 2000 feet above the sea. With this fact impressed on the memory, it will be easy to calculate how much higher or lower than Beverly the various elevations are given.

The channel of Elk River where it enters Randolph from Pocahontas is 2290 feet; where it flows from Randolph into Webster it is 2000. The stream, therefore, has a fall of 300 feet in Randolph County.

The bed of the Buckhannon River where it crosses the Randolph-Barbour line at Newton is 1880. The stream has its source in Randolph among mountains 2500 feet high.

The bed of the brook which is the source of the Tygart's Valley River, is 3140 feet where it crosses the Pocahontas-Randolph line. The channel

*For additional information on altitudes in West Virginia see chapter VIII in this book.



Snyder Knob, as seen from
the Mouth of Elwewater.

it crosses the Randolph and leaves Randolph its channel is 1765. The fall of the stream in its course through the county is 1930 feet. That is 170 feet more than the fall of the stream in its course of nearly three thousand miles, from the Randolph line to the Gulf of Mexico.

The bed of Otter Fork on the Randolph-Tucker line is 2100 feet; and Dry Fork has the same altitude where it crosses the line into Tucker County.

The following table will show the elevation in feet of some of the towns, post offices and places in Randolph.

Middle Fork Bridge	1900	Elkwater	2200	Mirago Flats	2700
Elkins	1960	Avondale	2200	Huff	2800
Kerens	2000	W. Huttonsville	2300	Blue Spring	2900
Beverly	2000	McCauley	2400	Florence	2900
Lick	2000	Helvetia	2400	Fairview Church	2900
Orlona	2000	Alpina	2400	Gladys	2900
Montrose	2050	Harmann	2400	Buckwheat Church	3000
Valley Bend	2050	Day's Mills	2450	Montgomery	3050
Huttonsville	2080	Mouth Fishing Hawk	2480	Osceola	3300
Lee Bell	2100	Valley Head	2500	The Sinks	3400
Cassity	2100	Kingsville	2500	Rich Mountain	3400
Long	2100	Pumpkintown	2550	Winchester	3600
Crickard	2100	Job	2600	Middlebrook	3800
Roaring Creek	2150	Pickens	2700	Brush Camp	4000

It is usual for roads which cross mountains to seek the lowest gaps in the ranges. This being the case, figures will be of interest which show the altitudes of certain roads where they pass over mountains.

The pike from Beverly to Buckhammon, where it passes over Rich Mountain (the battlefield), is 3000 feet. Highest point on the same pike between Roaring Creek and Middle Fork, 2600. Where the pike from Beverly to Staunton crosses Cheat Mountain (the military camp),

MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS OF RANDOLPH.

at Valley Head is 2500 feet; where it leaves the county, 1775. The total fall of the river in its course through Randolph is 1325 feet.

The bed of the East Fork of the Greenbrier River where it crosses the Randolph-Pocahontas line is 3300 feet. The bed of the West Fork of the Greenbrier where it crosses from Randolph into Pocahontas is 2990 feet. The Greenbrier rises in Randolph among mountains more than 4500 feet high.

The channel of the First Fork of Shaver's Fork of Cheat River, where it crosses the Randolph line from Pocahontas is 3700 feet. Where the river leaves Randolph its channel is 1765. The fall of the stream in its course through the county is 1930 feet. That is 170 feet more than the fall of the stream in its course of nearly three thousand miles, from the Randolph line to the Gulf of Mexico.

The bed of Otter Fork on the Randolph-Tucker line is 2100 feet; and Dry Fork has the same altitude where it crosses the line into Tucker County.

The following table will show the elevation in feet of some of the towns, post offices and places in Randolph.

Middle Fork Bridge	1900	Elkwater	2200	Mingo Flats	2100
Elkins	1950	Axondale	2200	Hoff	200
Kerens	2000	W. Huttonsville	2300	Blue Spring	200
Beverly	2000	McCauley	2300	Florence	200
Lick	2000	Helvetica	2400	Fairview Church	200
Ortina	2000	Alpina	2400	Gladys	200
Montrose	2000	Harman	2400	Rockwheat Church	200
Valley Bend	2050	Day's Mills	2450	Mountainville	200
Huttonsville	2080	Mount Fishing Hawk	2480	Accoda	180
Lee Bell	2100	Valley Head	2500	The Hinks	180
Candy	2100	Kingsville	2500	Rich Mountains	180
Long	2100	Pumpkintown	2550	Worchester	180
Critchard	2100	Job	2600	Middlebrook	180
Roaring Creek	2100	Pickens	2700	Brush Camp Low Place	180

It is usual for roads which cross mountains to seek the lowest gaps in the ranges. This being the case, figures will be of interest which show the altitudes of certain roads where they pass over mountains.

The pike from Beverly to Buckhannon, where it passes over Rich Mountain (the battlefield), is 3000 feet. Highest point on the same pike between Roaring Creek and Middle Fork, 3000. Where the pike from Beverly to Stanton crosses Cheat Mountain (the military camp), 3750. Where the same road crosses the Randolph-Pocahontas line, 2900. The road from Beverly to Circleville crosses Cheat Mountain at an altitude of 3550; it crosses Shaver's Mountain at 3000; Middle Mountain, 3750; Rich Mountain, 3800; Alleghany Mountain, 4240. The road from Elkins to Dry Fork crosses Cheat Mountain at an altitude of 2450 feet; Shaver's Mountain, 3150; Middle Mountain, 3240; Rich Mountain, 3500. The highest point between Kerens and the head of Pheasant Run is 2350 feet. The highest point on the road from Montrose to Clover Run is 2400; from Elkins to Belington, the top of Laurel Hill (the military camp) 3500.

Randolph is justly celebrated for its lofty and picturesque mountains. In the chapter on the county's geology, in this book, some description of their structure and history is given. In the chapter on the State's climate¹ their influence upon the winds and rains is spoken of; and in the present

¹See pages 78, 79 and 80.

MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS OF RANDOLPH

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chapter, the elevations of some of the principal knobs and peaks will suffice. The following table gives the altitudes in feet above the level of the sea.

Sayler Knob	4730	Elk Mountain	4300	Blue Knob	3700
High Knob	4710	Hutton's Knob	4290	Bee Knob	3600
Orchard Knob	4690	Bayard's Knob	4150	Lone Tree	3570
Barren Knob	4690	Haine's Knob	4130	Currence Knob	3500
Grove Knob	4690	Mingo Knob	4120	Beech Mountain	3500
Shady Knob	4545	Buckle Knob	4020	Hawflat Knob	3500
Troy Camp Mt.	4510	Mast Knob	4000	Lynn Knob	3500
Cunningham Knob	4485	Round Knob	3900*	Nettly Mt.	3400
River Patch Mt.	4480	(Chenoweth Knob	3870	Palace Ridge	3300
Roaring Plains	4400	Round Knob	3800*	Bear Knob	2900
Ward Knob	4400	Whitman's Knob	3800	Kelly Knob	2900
Yankee Knob	4330	Little Beech Mt.	3700	Cranberry Flat	2800
Buckshot Hill	4320	Shaver's Mountain	3700	Whitman's Flat	2750
Greer's Knob	4310	Turkey Bone Mt.	3700		

DISTANCES FROM BEVERLY.

Below will be found a table of distances from Beverly to various points in Randolph and neighboring counties; also the directions from Beverly to those points. The distances are "air lines," that is, they are measured in straight lines from Beverly to the points named, and take no account of the irregularities of the country. Such lines are shorter than any road connecting the points, and in some cases are little more than half as long.

FROM BEVERLY TO	Miles	Dirct'n	FROM BEVERLY TO	Miles	Dirct'n
Lone Tree	24	N. of W.	Circleville	22	E. S. E.
Elkins	5	E. of N.	Buckhannon	27	W. N. W.
Valley Bend	6	S. W.	Mingo Flats	27	S. S. W.
Roaring Creek	8	W. N. W.	St. George	23	E. of N.
Gladys	9	E. S. E.	Philippi	24	W. of S.
Hartingtonville	10	S. W.	Mouth of Seneca	23	E.
Alpine	11	N. E.	Franklin	22	E. S. E.
Keenes	12	E. of N.	Grafton	36	W. of N.
Bethelton	12	W. of N.	Weston	37	W. S. W.
Middle Fork Bridge	12	W. N. W.	Oakland	41	N. S. E.
Cheat Mountain	12	S.	Petersburg	42	E. S. E.
Elkwater	12	S. W.	Virginia Line	42	E. S. E.
Motrouse	13	E. of N.	Marlinton	46	S. S. W.
Seeds of Gandy	14	S. E.	Kingwood	46	E. of N.
Valley Head	14	S. E.	Sutton	47	S. of W.
Harmans	15	S. W.	Moorefield	51	E. N. E.
Beverly	15	E. S. E.	Glenville	54	S. of W.
Parsons	16	W. S. W.	Keyser	57	S. E.
Traveller's Repose	17	S. S. E.			
	22	E. of S.			

THE SCULPTURE OF TYGART'S VALLEY.

Tygart's Valley was never a lake, although many persons have supposed that it was, and that it was drained by the cutting of the gorge through Laurel Hill below the mouth of Leading Creek. The broad and far bottom lands, and the rim of mountains all round, enclosing the basin,

* Near the head of Greenbrier River.

** Near the head of Buckhannon River.

with the gap through the mountain for the outlet, have suggested, and naturally so, that there was an inland sheet of water, forty miles long, and that the water accumulated until it overflowed Laurel Hill, and cut the gorge for drainage. The lake theory presumes that the bottom of the valley was the bottom of the lake, and that the surrounding mountains were practically the same as they are now, as to height and shape. There are several arguments that might be presented, any one of which would show conclusively that such a lake never existed. One is that the rainfall in the basin drained by Tygart's Valley, would never have furnished enough water to fill the lake to overflowing. To have overtopped Laurel Hill, the water of the lake must have accumulated to a depth of at least 800 feet. With four feet of rain a year, which is rather an over estimate, two hundred years would have been required to accumulate enough water, had none been carried off by evaporation. But evaporation would carry it away three times as rapidly as rain would furnish it. Consequently it never could accumulate more than a few feet at the lower end of the valley. It would dry up, except at the lower end of the basin. Perhaps the whole floor of the valley, even in the wettest season, would never be covered. It would stand 200 feet deep at Elkins before the backwater could reach Valley Head, since the floor of the valley slopes that much between the two points.

If the argument that evaporation would balance precipitation, and prevent the accumulation of water, is answered by the claim that in early geological times the rainfall here was much greater than it is at present (a claim not supported by fact or theory), still the lake could not have existed and cut the gorge through Laurel Hill. No one can dispute the fact that, had the basin without an outlet existed, and had the rainfall exceeded evaporation, water would have risen higher and higher until it overflowed the rim of the basin. But if it had done so it would not have found an outlet over Laurel Hill where the gorge was cut, because that was not the lowest place in the rim of the basin. The water would, of course, have sought the lowest gap through the surrounding mountains. Draw a line across the gorge in Laurel Hill, from the top of the mountain on one side to the top on the other, and the line will be 800 feet above the valley. The water must have risen that much to overflow there. But before it had risen 300 feet it would have flowed out through the low gap at the head of Pheasant Run, and Tagart's Valley River would have emptied into Cheat River. A rise of 300 feet would also have given the lake an outlet down Haddix Run, also into Cheat River. A rise of 350 feet would have overflowed the gap at the head of Clover Run, and would have given an outlet into Cheat River at St. George. A rise of 450 would have given an outlet through the gap into the head of Mill Run, a branch of Gladys Creek which flows past Meadowville, and empties into the Valley River near Philippi. Thus it is seen that there were four gaps in the rim of the basin through which the lake (had there been a lake) would have found an outlet long before it could have risen high enough to overflow Laurel Hill. This is proof positive that the gorge through that mountain was not cut by water escaping from a lake.

Then what formed the peculiar and basin-like valley? The same agency that has formed nearly every other valley in the world—running water. The river has scooped out the valley. Still the valley is a peculiar and wonderful form of geological sculpture. Generations have lived and died



Cross-Section Showing the Sculpture of
Tygart's Valley.*

ley. That on the west is called Rich Mountain and that on the east, Cheat Mountain. The space between them, and rising 2000 feet higher than either, was once filled. The river has cut out the central part and left the sides. The ancient summit was more than 5000 feet above the present floor of the valley. If the part which has been washed away were restored it would bend as a vast arch from the top of Cheat Mountain to the top of Rich Mountain, reaching to the clouds. Then, instead of a lake, there was once a mountain, occupying and rising directly above the valley, more than two thousand feet higher than the highest peak now existing in West Virginia.

There is no lack of evidence to substantiate those statements. The older persons who will read this book do not need evidence, as the most of them are familiar with the subject; but the young, into whose hands this book will fall, are not yet so fortunate, their education not yet having familiarized them with the facts of geology and geography with which they are surrounded. For their benefit, rather than for those who are older, the following outline of the manner of mountain-building and valley-making in this part of West Virginia will be given. In a former chapter of this book a general view was taken of the geology of the State. The argument advanced there will not be repeated here. It has been shown that all the rocks in this part of West Virginia were formed of sand, mud and shells on the bottom of the ocean which once covered this region. Great layers of rock, each hundreds of feet thick, were deposited one upon another. They lay flat and level, like sheets of paper, and the same layers extended, not only over Randolph County, but eastward to the Valley of Virginia, northward to Pennsylvania, southward to Tennessee, and westward toward Ohio. Although these layers were flat and level at first, they were afterwards lifted above the sea, and the strain to which they were subjected, bent and folded them, squeezed them from the sides, and raised them in ridges and valleys. The horizontal thrust was as if one force were pushing from the direction of the Ohio River and another from the direction of the Valley of Virginia. That is, one force acted from the northwest toward the south-

* The letters and figures in the cut represent: B—Bend; R—Tygart's River; S—summit of the ancient mountain 1—the stratum of rock called The Great Conglomerate; 2—Canan Formation; 3—Greenbrier Limestone; 4—Pocahontas Sandstone; 5—Hamptons Formation; 6—Jensling Formation, the foot of the valley; 7—Monroe Shale, lying just beneath the valley floor.

east, and the other force from the southeast toward the northwest. The result was that the strata, acted upon from both directions, were bent in enormous folds and arches, like waves on water. This is why we seldom see ledges lying flat, but nearly always tilted one way or the other.

There were four prominent folds or anticlines between the Ohio River and the Valley of Virginia, and many smaller ones, along a line drawn nearly southeast and northwest, through Beverly and Franklin. The first anticline (arch) is centered on Long Ridge, west of the Shenandoah Mountains; the next just west of it, produces Castle Mountain; the third, still west, has its center in North Fork Mountain, and the fourth produced the enormous mountain which arched over the Tygart's Valley River, of which Cheat Mountain and Rich Mountain are the remnants, the central and higher part having been worn away. There is no large fold west of Rich Mountain, the layers being nearly horizontal from there to the Ohio River; nor are there remnants of any large folds east of the Valley of Virginia. If such existed they are worn away. This description is meant only as an expression, in the most general terms, of the structure. There are folds and flexures, almost without number, making a network over the whole area, and forming a complex system intricate in the extreme. But the four great anticlines mentioned are the chief features. If the foldings could be restored and made to appear as they would be if none of the upper strata had been worn and washed away, we would now have four great mountain ranges between the Ohio and the Shenandoah Valley, and there would be broken valleys (synclines) between the ranges. The most western range, rising above Tygart's Valley, would be 7000 feet high; North Fork Mountain would be 16,000 feet; Castle Mountain, 11,000, and Long Ridge, 10,000 feet. The Alleghany range would not be a mountain, but a valley. It is not the top of an arch or fold, but the bottom of a cyncline or trough between two folds. The same is true of the Shenandoah Mountain. The Roaring Plains, that bleak plateas on the summit of the Alleghanies, are (speaking in a geological sense) the bottom of a valley. They would have been in the bottom of a valley had not the higher ground on both sides been washed away and scooped out. Spruce Mountain, the highest in the State, is a remnant of syncline or valley. It is thus seen that what was once mountain is now valley (as Tygart's Valley), and what was once valley is now mountain (as the Alleghany, Spruce Mountain and Shenandoah Mountain). The cause for the wearing away of one part faster than another is that the rock covering the one is softer, or is so exposed that it is more easily attacked by the elements. The "Great Conglomerate" is a great protector of what lies beneath.

That which has so changed the face of the country, and reversed the order of valleys and mountains, is the flowing streams. Rocks and hills which seem so solid and enduring, are helpless under the merciless and ceaseless chiseling of the rivers and rains, the winds and frosts. They crumble to atoms. The carved and excavated foundations of the four vast ranges above spoken of, are proof of the power of water in cutting a way mountains. Fourteen thousand feet of rock, layer above layer, have been stripped from the top of North Fork Mountain. Could these strata be restored, they would stand as stupendous arches over the top of the present mountain, their summit covered with perpetual snow, and overtopping the loftiest peak now in the United States. Thousands of feet, taken as an average have been worn from the surface of the whole country, between Randolph

County and the Valley of Virginia. The rains and rivers have done it, the rivers cutting deep trenches for sluicing off the detritus, and the rains washing the sands and soil into the streams. The muddy water which comes from the uplands with every rain shows how much of the surface of the ground is being carried into the sea.

Having thus turned aside for a general view of the geology of the region, let a return be made to Tygart's Valley, and consider how the valley was formed, and what proof there is of its origin. Rivers are usually older than the mountains. Before the great folds of the rock were made between Randolph County and the Shenandoah Mountain, the country, as is believed, was nearly level, with a gentle slope in all directions from the highest point in Pendleton, Randolph and Pocahontas Counties. From that highest point rivers flowed in all directions, having their sources near together. The tributaries of the Cheat, with Tygart's Valley River, flowed north. Greenbrier flowed south. Elk flowed southwest. The Little Kanawha took its course west, while the tributaries of the Potowmuck flowed east and northeast. These streams probably all had well-cut channels before the folding of the strata and the elevation of mountains in the region commenced. Then as the horizontal compressions began, and the great folds and arches of rock commenced to rise above the surface, there began a contest between the mountains and the rivers, as to which would be master—whether the mountains, slowly upbearing, would turn the rivers from their courses, or whether the rivers would be able to cut through the mountains and continue in their old channels. The rivers were masters. They kept their courses, cutting away all obstacles. One great fold, as it happened, was sheared directly under Tygart's Valley River. The river kept its course, deepening its channel along the summit of the mountain, which rose slowly. The amazing slowness with which these folds were forced up surpasses comprehension. There was no sudden upheaval, in a few months, or a few years; had there been, the rivers would have been turned aside. But ages unnumbered were required, perhaps, for an elevation of a few feet, giving the rivers ample time to cut away the rocks as they were thrust up. The process was continued for hundreds of thousands of years, and, for aught we know, is going on yet as rapidly as ever.

The river may have been, and probably was, assisted in the work of excavating the valley along the summit by the rupture of the strata along the top of the arch. It can be seen that in bending a thick series of rocks into the form of an arch, the upper layers would be compelled to stretch or break, under the excessive strain. They would stretch to some extent, but the probability is that along the top of the mountain, as it was thrust up, the rocks were pulled asunder, forming a wide, deep crack along the entire summit. The river would of course take possession of this chasm for a channel, and would speedily widen and deepen it, forming it into a valley as it is now.

Thus the process of deepening and widening Tygart's Valley was simple. From the small beginning, from the small, shallow trench cut by the river along the axis of the fold, as it began to rise, the stream has worn deeper and cut wider as the mountain was forced up, until we now see the whole core of the mountain cut out, and only the sides remaining. The evidence of this is not far to seek. Six great layers of rock, each clearly defined, have been cut through by the river. The same strata are found on

both sides of the valley. The lowest one is called the Jennings Formation. It forms the bottom of the valley. It is not yet quite cut through. It not only forms the floor of the valley, but the edges of the stratum are found along the hills on both sides, along the base of Cheat Mountain and Rich Mountain. Next to this is a layer many hundred feet thick, called the Hampshire Formation, named from its great development in Hampshire County. The edge of this formation is found a little higher than the Jennings, all along the base of Cheat Mountain. Crossing the valley to Rich Mountain, the same formation is found, the edge of the stratum just above the first hills. On the Cheat Mountain side the edges dip down toward the southeast. On the Rich Mountain side they dip to the northwest. The rocks on both sides of the valley rise toward the valley, and if continued, they would span the valley like an arch. The next layer above the Hampshire rock is the Pocono Sandstone. This is not so thick; but a band of it runs along Cheat Mountain, and on the opposite side of the valley, at the same height the same rock is seen along the side of Rich Mountain. Above this comes a series of rocks of great thickness, easily distinguishable on account of its limestone. The series consists of the Canaan Formation and the Greenbrier Limestone.

These rocks can be traced along the face of Cheat Mountain, and, at the same height, along the face of Rich Mountain, for the whole length of the valley. Like the formations above and below them, they pitch down into the mountains on each side of the valley, like the opposite sides of a vast arch, which, if continued would span the valley. Next above this is the Great Conglomerate, locally known as the Pickens Sandstone. It is a rock easily recognized. It is composed of round white pebbles, in a matrix of sand. It is found near the tops of the mountains, along both sides of the valley. Above this are the Upshur Sandstone and the Pugh Formation. Thus it is seen that wherever a formation is found along the face of Cheat Mountain, the same formation will be found, at the same altitude, on the opposite side of the valley against the side of Rich Mountain. Take the dip of any formation on both sides of the valley, and continue the lines from mountain to mountain, and it will be found that every formation will be an arch, the highest part of which will be over the center of the valley.

The question is naturally asked: How long ago did the river commence its work of excavating the valley? How old is the valley? What is the rate of erosion? Is the valley being made deeper and wider? The answers can be given only approximately. Geologists never measure by years. They can compare the age of one valley with that of another, or one mountain with another, or a valley with a mountain; but they cannot tell the length of time in years, except in rare cases and in the most recent work of geology. Tygart's Valley has been all, or nearly all, excavated since the close of the Carboniferous Age. The coal which lies on both sides, and probably once extended across, above the present valley, was formed before the folding of the rocks began, which have since been lifted into moun-

Formation	Thickness
UPSHUR	1000
Hampshire	200
PUGH	300
CANAN	500
Greenbrier	100
POCONO	100
HAMP-SHIRE	1000
Jennings	700

Columnar Section, Showing the Thickness and Order of the Different Strata of Rocks in Randolph.

tains and chiseled into valleys. Although the numbers of years since then are inconceivable, so great that the mind cannot grasp them, nor thought comprehend them, yet these valleys and mountains are young when compared with some of the patriarchs of geology. Old as the mountain was, of which Rich Mountain and Cheat Mountain are the remnants, its age is but as a day to a thousand years when compared with some of the other mountains of America. The Blue Ridge was an old, almost obliterated mountain, when the waves of a restless ocean roiled over the site of Rich Mountain and the Alleghanies, and the Blue Ridge is new and young in comparison with the Laurentide Hills of Canada.

We cannot tell how much is worn away yearly from the surface of the mountains surrounding Tygart's Valley. Careful estimates, continued for many years, and based on the amount of sediment carried by the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico each year, have reached the conclusion that the rate of erosion for the whole Mississippi Valley is equal to the removal of the whole land surface, one foot deep, in 5000 years. Thus, for wearing away of one foot of surface, fifty centuries are required. Since the building of the Pyramids of Egypt, the Mississippi basin has not been lowered one foot. Tygart's Valley is a part of the Mississippi basin, and this valley has been worn down 3000 feet. But, on account of the steepness of the slopes, the rate here has been much more rapid than the average rate for the whole Mississippi basin. Suppose that it has been ten times as rapid, or one foot in 500 years. This would give the age of Tygart's Valley, from its first beginning along the crest of the mountain, at 2,500,000 years. No one should place much confidence in these figures. They may be much too great, or vastly inadequate. However, if the data be correct on which the calculation is based, no other conclusion is possible. An estimate to be given by and by, based on depth of soil and rate of sedimentation, shows that the bed of the river has not been perceptibly lowered in the last thousand years.

Tygart's River has reached that stage in its history where it ceases to cut deeper, but expends its energy in widening its valley. It has reached what is known as "the baselevel of erosion." That is, its current is not now strong enough to tear up the rocks underlying the valley, but is yet able to carry away the sediment washed in from the neighboring mountain slopes. It is a condition which comes to the old age of all rivers. In their youth, when their channels are steep, they cut downward. In their old age, when their currents, for want of grade, become weak, they widen their valleys, but do not deepen them. A later stage is reached by some rivers when their currents become so weak that they can no longer carry out the sediment washed in from their sides. Then they fill their channels and their valleys with residual matter.

The condition in which Tygart's Valley now is, is only temporary. It is deepening very little, but the time will come when the swift currents of its youth will be renewed, and then the river will plow out the bottom of the valley and send the soil and sand pouring down the Monongahela. A prophet is not necessary to foretell this chapter of the future. It will come as surely as effect follows cause. The cause is at work now; the effect is inevitable. The argument by which the conclusion is reached is as follows: Between Fairmont (or the foot of Valley Falls, above Fairmont,) and the mouth of Leading Creek, the fall of the river is more than one thousand feet. Those falls and rapids are all wearing up stream, working their way

upward, leaving a deep gorge below, through which the river flows with a gentle current to join the Ohio at Pittsburg. In course of time those falls, rapids and cataracts will cut back until they come up through the gap in Laurel Hill, and enter the lower end of Tygart's Valley. As they work their way up the river, they will cut a gorge from 700 to 900 feet deep. They will continue this gorge right up the center of the valley to the head of it. Then the bottom of the river will be several hundred feet below the floor of the present valley. The most of the present level land will disappear. Here and there along the sides fragments may remain, as benches or terraces, just as at present fragments of old valley floors are found as benches and terraces along the faces of hills in Monongahela and Marion Counties, and in Pennsylvania. Broad bottom lands once existed there. The river cut them out. The same river is advancing its falls and cataracts slowly up toward Tygart's Valley, which is doomed to share the fate which already has destroyed the level lands which once existed along the course of the Monongahela. Once the river begins cutting out the floor of Tygart's Valley, it will make quick work. The Romney Shale lies a short distance beneath the present surface. When the cataracts attack it, it will go out like sand. It is too soft to resist.

LOGS BURIED UNDER SOIL.

Old logs are seen protruding from beneath heavy beds of soil in many places throughout the valley where the river has cut away its banks and exposed them to view. Some of these logs have lain there for centuries, covered with sand and mud, and in some cases beneath gravel. Several logs have been uncovered at the water's edge, on the west side of the river, a quarter of a mile above the Beverly bridge. The deepest one is buried under eleven feet of soil. Others may seen in the bottom of the river still deeper. The stream at that place is cutting away a high bank, uncovering the timber. The origin of these logs is evident. They were once drift-wood on the river, and lodging in sheltered places were slowly covered by sand and silt which preserved them from decay. Buried timber is found beneath the soil throughout the Tygart's Valley in such quantity as to show that the river has swung back and forth from mountain to mountain, uncovering logs in one place and burying them in another. It would be interesting to know how long they have lain buried. All are not of the same age, of course. Generally speaking, those which are buried deepest have been there longest, for the burial process, in most cases, seems to have been an accumulation of silt and sediment. The problem was to discover the average rate of accumulation of sediment in the bottom lands of the valley. The key to the problem was discovered in an excavation near the mouth of Piles Creek, where a bed of charcoal was found beneath the surface. A furnace for drying lumber had been there and had not been used for thirty-three years. The bed of charcoal was neatly sifted over. It was in a position to be flooded with every deep rise of the river. By making due allowance for grass roots and the unusually rank vegetation growing there, and the probable washing in of soil from higher ground nearby, it was estimated that three and one-half inches of sediment had accumulated in thirty-three years, or about at the rate of



Buried Logs Near Beverly.

one inch in nine and a half years, or one foot in 114 years. If that rate holds good generally throughout the valley (the rate is probably too great rather than too small) it furnishes a basis for estimating the time required for accumulating the bed of soil on any piece of bottom land subject to sedimentation by the overflow of Tygart's Valley River. Multiply the depth of the soil in feet by 114, and it will give the years required for accumulation. Those who use this basis of calculation should exercise caution and take into consideration all surrounding conditions that might increase or diminish the rate of sedimentation.

The depth of soil in the valley varies from a few inches to probably twenty feet. Ten feet is probably a fair average. The buried logs, above spoken of, under eleven feet of soil, have been there 1250 years, if the rule holds good. The river yet seems to be flowing on the same level as then. It shifts its channel slowly from mountain to mountain. No spot in the level valley can be found which has not at some time been the bed of the river. Yet, it sometimes keeps the same bed for ages. An instance of this is seen above Slat Ford. A low piece of bottom land is there seen, between the present river and the bluff. It contains perhaps fifteen or twenty acres. On the west it is bounded by a bluff, about twenty-five feet high, curved like the arc of a circle. That bluff is the old river bank. It is cut out of rock. It marks the extreme western limit of the river since it has been flowing on its preset level. The stream washed the base of the bluff until it cut away many acres of rock, twenty-five or thirty feet thick. Then the river made itself a channel down through the bottom farther east, and it ceased flowing along the base of the bluff. Since that time the bottom land there has been filling by sedimentation. A fine meadow now occupies the space between the bluff and the present river bank. The depth of the soil, shown in the measurement at the bank of the river, averages about eight feet. If the above rule holds good, more than 900 years have elapsed since the river occupied its channel along the base of the bluff. It is now working its way back toward the bluff, and flows over solid rock. Apparently its bed is on the same level as it was 900 years ago; further evidence that the valley is widening but not deepening.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TYGART'S VALLEY SOIL.

It is a peculiarity of this valley that few beds of gravel underlie the soil. The bottom lands of Cheat River and of the South Branch of the Potomac, are built upon beds of boulders and gravel. The subsoil in Tygart's Valley rests upon rock, a flaggy sandstone and shale of the Jennings Formation. There are a few and unimportant gravel deposits. The South Branch and Cheat have powerful currents, capable of carrying gravel and boulders which they bring down from the mountains in large quantities and deposit on the bottom lands, where they are covered by sedimentation. Tygart's River has a weak current. It carries nothing coarser than sand and not much of that, except of the finest grade. The lack of gravel underlying the soil has a direct influence upon the valley's agricultural interests. Farmers usually have trouble in securing good drainage for their land. The bottoms lie so flat that surface drainage is slow, and the solid and compact subsoil prevents good under-drainage. If beds of gravel were beneath, they would furnish deep drainage. Tiles placed underground would be an artificial substitute for gravel beds; but tiles have never been extensively used here. No factory for making them exists in

the county, and the cost of bringing them from a distance prevents their general introduction. Open ditches do not give the best drainage, but they are an improvement on no drainage at all. They interfere with the cultivation of the land. There are many portions of the valley which do not need artificial drainage. Those tracts, for the most part, are what are known as delta lands. They lie at the mouths of creeks which come down from the mountains and meet the valley. The creeks usually have stronger currents than the river, and they bring down coarser material, and deposit it in the valley. The coarser material gives better under drainag. The delta lands at the mouths of creeks, covering sometimes hundreds of acres, are generally a little higher than the adjacent river-bottoms, and this assists drain-

age.

Although the valley has been settled a century and a quarter, a great development awaits it. The land has been devoted principally to grass, hay and cattle, and the farms have been large. The destiny of the valley is that it shall be cut up into small tracts, the swamps and wet lands drained, the remaining thickets removed, and grain and fruit take the place of hay and pasture. The valley now has a population of 10,000. It could as easily support 40,000. It is beautiful now. Its beauty can be increased four fold by higher cultivation. It can be made the garden of the State. The surrounding mountains still lie in primeval forests. They should be and will be cleared; and where now the long, graceful ridges of Cheat and Rich Mountains greet the eye as almost unbroken wilderness, there will be mountain ranges of pasture, on which tens of thousands of cattle and sheep will fatten. The old citizens of Randolph justly feel proud of their county and its progress. But they have scarcely witnessed the beginning. It is not in the province of history to deal with the future. The historian has done his duty if he has faithfully pictured the past. But the writer of this book wishes to place on record here the prediction that not many generations will pass before the people of Randolph see a transformation of valley meadows and pastures into farms, orchards and gardens, with four families where there is one now, and the mountain forests will change into blue-grass ranges, covered with flocks and herds. The State cannot furnish another such combination of valley and mountain, the one suited to scientific farming, the other to profitable stock-raising. The valleys are now, or soon will be, threaded with railroads. The mountains, while lofty, are of such slopes that they may be crossed nearly anywhere by excellent wagon roads. If wood for fuel should ever be exhausted, the coal beneath the ground is inexhaustible. The water-power within the county is sufficient to drive all the machinery in West Virginia. This power could be carried by electricity to any part of the State, if it were needed. The people of Randolph have within their reach all the possibilities man could wish. The young men should not emigrate to the West or the South. They have a better country at home. Make small farms. Fertilize them with manure, lime and clover. Do not bake, burn and exhaust them with patent stimulants which add nothing and sap the life. Build neat houses; big barns; straight fences; plant vegetables, fruits and berries; keep the best breeds of horses, cattle, hogs and sheep; aim to make a good living first and money afterwards. They will make a good living and money; and what is whole county the pride and the wonder of the State.

THE COAL FIELDS OF RANDOLPH.

There are two coal areas in Randolph County, the first of comparatively little importance in its present state of development, along the summit of the Alleghany Mountains above Red Creek; the other is the Roaring Creek Field. The Red Creek coal belongs to the Potomac Basin, which extends from Cumberland, by way of Elk Garden and Davis, to the Randolph line. The Roaring Creek coal lies in a different basin. It is the southern end of the veins which underlie Monongalia, Marion, Harrison, and Barbour Counties. The Roaring Creek Fields lie in Randolph and Barbour, between Rich Mountain and King's Mountain. The basin in which this coal lies is cut through by the Tygart's Valley River between Elkins and Philippi. The amount of coal that may be mined in the district has been estimated at 80,000,000 tons. It is found in different veins, and occupies a syncline or trough, one rim of which is the top of Rich Mountain, the other rim the top of King's Mountain. The Roaring Creek Railroad has tapped the field and extensive mines have been opened.

From the top of Rich Mountain, the edge of the Roaring Creek Field, to the head of Red Creek, the edge of the Potomac Field, the distance in an air line is nearly twenty-five miles, and between the two fields coal has not been found. The question may be asked: If there is coal on both sides, why is there none between? The answer is, that coal probably once covered the whole area between the Roaring Creek Basin and the Potomac Basin. But the action of rain, frost and flowing water has stripped off the coal and washed it away. Why this has been the case can be clearly seen by a study of the geography of the country between Rich Mountain and Red Creek. The Potomac coal lies in a trough or basin between Backbone Mountain and the Alleghany. At Red Creek and Dry Fork that basin is broken up by mountains which rise across its end, namely East Rich Mountain, Beaver's Mountain, and Cheat Mountain. The Potomac coal probably extended westward and joined the Roaring Creek Fields; but when the above named mountains were thrust up, breaking to pieces the southwestern end of the Potomac Basin, the denuding process rapidly wore away the coal and adjacent rocks from all the mountain ridges, and the streams cut out the bottoms of the ravines, and the coal disappeared. But the present Potomac Basin and the Roaring Creek Basin were not broken up. The beds of coal, and the neighboring strata were folded gently, forming wide, shallow troughs, and in these troughs, or synclines, the coal was protected from rapid weathering, and has been preserved. There can be little doubt that the whole of Randolph was once covered with coal. The only considerable patch remaining is at Roaring Creek. The rest has been washed away. It is not impossible that some small remnant of coal may exist among the mountains between Cheat Mountain and the Alleghany. Perhaps for every ton of coal remaining in Randolph at present, one hundred tons have been washed away in past ages.

REMANENTS OF AN OLD RIVER TERRACE.

At different places along Tygart's Valley, on both sides, may be seen remnants of an old terrace which once formed the bottom of the valley. These strips of level land, like benches, usually lie fifty or sixty feet above the present bed of the river. One of the best preserved lies just south of the mouth of Piles Creek, and extend a mile or more up the creek on the

south side. The residence of Daniel R. Baker is situated on this terrace. The river, in its process of cutting deeper, remained stationary a long time at that level; long enough to cut far back in the ledges of rock forming the eastern boundary of the valley. At that time the bottom land of File's Creek was level with the river valley; for the same terrace extends a mile up the creek, forming a bench, a hundred yards wide or more, which at first is fifty feet above the creek, but a mile up stream has approached the present creek valley, and is lost in the bottom lands.

THE HUTTONSVILLE GRAVEL DEPOSITS.

The value of underground drainage, and its effect upon the overlying soil may be studied to advantage in the bottom lands about Huttonsville, and in a comparison of these lands with the lands lower down the valley. From Valley Bend to Leading Creek the soil rests, for the most part, upon solid rock or shale, which holds water, prevents the soil from draining, and the land is inclined to be damp and heavy. About Huttonsville there is a layer of gravel and water-worn boulders between the soil and the underlying solid rock. This gravel drains the excess of water from the soil above, causing it to be warmer, dryer and less compact than if it had no such drainage, and consequently it is better suited for grain and most other crops. Surface swamps and ponds in that vicinity may be drained, not by ditches as in the lower valley, but by wells which are sunk to the gravel beds. Water from the surface pours into the wells and passes off through the gravel. The cause for gravel beds in that part of the valley and not in the lower portion is to be sought in the geography and geology of the region. From the source of the river down to that locality the river has a swift current, but within a few miles of Huttonsville the valley loses much of its grade and the water flows less rapidly. Consequently, the current which carried gravel to that point is lost in the flat country, and the gravel and boulders were deposited there, and never reached the lower end of the valley. An examination of the streams which empty into the river in that vicinity, particularly Riffle's Run, Becca's Creek and Stewart's Run, warrants the conclusion that many of the boulders and much of the gravel which form the sub-stratum for the fine soil, did not come down the river from its headwaters, but were washed down the lateral streams from Cheat Mountain, and in a lesser degree from Rich Mountain, on the opposite side of the valley. These gravel beds, especially if one can judge by what appears in the present river channels, are largely made up of fragments from the Pocono Sandstone, the Canaan Formation and the Pottsville Conglomerate, all of which are derived from ledges near the summits of Cheat and Rich Mountains. They have been washing down and accumulating for untold centuries. The softer rocks, lying below the formations just named, such as the Hampshire and Jennings shales and thin sandstones (the Jennings forms the present rocky bottom of the valley and the Hampshire the faces of the mountains) have been ground to atoms, and comparatively little of that soft material now exists in the bottom of the valley as gravel. Most of it has been washed away, and has gone, as silt and fine sand and mud, down the Monongahela River. Some of it remains as soil. Intelligent farmers in that locality have observed that the land near the mouths of creeks, flowing down from the limestone formations, is more fertile than other lands not so situated. The credit for this fertility is given exclusively to the lime brought down by the waters; but the lime is not the sole reason,

and probably not the chief reason, why the land is more productive. These streams have strong currents; they have deposited broad deltas of gravel and coarse materials where they debouch into the valley; and it is as much due to the underground drainage and to the coarser sand mixed with the soil as it is to the lime that the land is better than other lands not so situated.

THE HUTTONSVILLE TERRACES.

Situated on the southeastern side of the river, opposite Huttonsville, and also above and below, is a series of terraces about sixty feet above the bed of the river, and occupying four square miles or more. This was once the flood-plain of the river. Water-worn bowlders strewn about the surface, as well as buried beneath the soil, bear proof of the fact that strong currents once swept over this upland. It is apparently of the same age as the terrace south of File's Creek, at Beverly. The whole floor of the valley was once level with those terraces, but it has been washed out. The largest remaining fragment of the flood-plain lies between Riffle's Run and Becca's Creek. Its soil is of fine quality, and much of its area is still in primeval forest. An examination of the bowlders shows that they were mostly derived from the Pocono, the Canaan and the Pottsville rocks, near the summit of Cheat Mountain, or Rich Mountain on the opposite side of the valley. The bowlders of that particular locality were likely brought down from Cheat Mountain by Riffle's Run and Becca's Creek. Those streams are still bringing the hard bowlders down and throwing them into the valley, while the softer rocks are ground to sand and mud and washed away.

LIMESTONE CAVES.

There are a number of interesting underground caverns in Randolph County, and a search would no doubt reveal many more. Few of them have been explored to their limits, and some have never been entered beyond a few yards. The Greenbrier Limestone, which averages about 250 feet in thickness, crops out high against the faces of the mountains from Red Creek to the Webster County line, and all of the caves are in this limestone. They have been formed in most cases, perhaps in every case, by flowing water. There is nothing mysterious about their manner of formation. Some are in their prime now; some are old and falling in; some are just in their infancy. They are hollowed out by the following process: All thick strata of rock are more or less faulted or cracked under the strains to which they are subjected by folding, depression, upheaval, change of temperature, different degrees of moisture, and from other causes. The water which falls upon the surface of the ground as rain, sinks into these minute crevices and follows them, in obedience to the law of gravitation, as far as possible, and then comes to the surface as a spring. If the rock is sandstone, water has little effect upon it, in dissolving it and carrying it away, and the small crevices are not much enlarged by the streamlets of water that trickle through them. But with limestone the case is different. It dissolves or melts in water, and the little stream that starts in a crevice issues from a spring somewhere, and it is no longer the soft rainwater that soaked into the cracks on the hills above; but it comes out "hard" water. It is "hard" because it is full of limestone which it has dissolved. A cup of coffee will dissolve two spoonfuls of sugar, and the coffee becomes sweet.

A cup of pure water will dissolve, in a similar way, a small quantity of limestone, and it can be tasted—it is hard—it is loaded with lime as the coffee with sugar.

If this suggestion has not already rendered clear why caves are formed, a few words will suffice to do so. The water trickling through the crevice dissolves the limestone which it touches and carries it away, and the crevice grows larger. Its increased size admits the passage of the water with less resistance than the smaller crevices in the vicinity; and the result is that in course of time multitudes of little crevices will seek and find openings into the larger one; and the water will become stronger and carry away more lime. An underground channel, which was at first only a few feet or yards long may join to another, and that to another, until the united length is hundreds of yards, or perhaps thousands. Thus a large body of water will flow in a subterranean passage, and in course of time—thousands of years—it makes it a cave. For it is almost sure to grow larger as long as water flows through it.

Such a cave is destroyed by means as simple as it is made. Rock may fall in from above and block it up, as in the Mingo Cave. Another enlarging cave in the vicinity may encroach upon the water supply and cut it off. Then the cavern will cease enlarging and will slowly fill with crumbling debris. Or a cave may become too large; may hollow out the rock under so large an area that the whole top will fall in and fill the cavern. The result is a "sink." Some of them are small, covering but a few rods, while others are very large, such as are seen in Pocahontas, the "Little Levels" and in Greenbrier, the "Big Levels," or the very noted "Sinks of Gandy," in Randolph. Occasionally under such a "sink" a small cave is still found. It is only an unfilled remnant of the once very large cave. There is a distinction between a "sink" and a "sink-hole," although both are formed on the same principle. A "sink-hole" is an opening like a well (larger or smaller) leading down a considerable distance and usually opening into a cave. A "sink" is a general settling down of the whole surface with no cave, or only a small one, beneath. Both "sinks" and "sink-holes" usually abound in a region where there are caves.

THE ELK RIVER CAVE.

Theory and all known facts lead to the conclusion that a cave of enormous dimensions exists in Randolph County, under or near the course of the Elk River, between the Pocahontas County line and the mouth of Valley Fork, six miles below. But no one has ever yet found an entrance into the cave, and its existence cannot be positively affirmed. The facts which are explained on the theory of a vast cave are these: Elk River, except in time of freshet, flows into a crevice at the foot of a mountain, or when very low, disappears among the boulders of its channel, in Pocahontas, near the Randolph line; and six miles below, the water rushes to the surface. Its underground course is through limestone, and it must flow through galleries of large size. In 1896, near the point where the water sinks, a portion of the river bottom dropped down, leaving an opening about fifteen feet square into which the whole river plunged and disappeared. No bottom was visible, and no one attempted to enter or examine. The next flood filled the opening with boulders. Between the points where the river sinks and where it rises to the surface, a distance of six miles, there are no streams emptying into its channel on the surface,

except in freshet; let they all sink, and the most of them pour into "sink-holes," and unless this water reaches the subterranean channel of the river, its destination is unknown. The area of the region whose streams flow into "sink-holes" is from fifteen to twenty square miles; and the supposed underground course of Elk River passes beneath the region. The conclusion is that all those streams that sink reach the waters of Elk somewhere under the ground; and those meeting places of the waters, and the galleries through which they pour must form a series of caverns and chasms of great dimensions. Few attempts have been made to penetrate through the "sink-holes" to the caves, but that some practicable opening exists somewhere in the region is reasonable.

THE CRAWFORD CAVE.

On the Kent Crawford farm, against the side of Elk Mountain, is a cavern which has been frequently visited, and has been explored, perhaps 3000 feet, although no measurement of distance has been made. Distance in a cave is deceptive, and is usually less than one-fourth as great as the man who does not measure is apt to conclude. The Crawford cave is easy of entrance, free from danger, abounds in pleasing rooms and galleries, one of which has white walls, and it has been a favorite one with sightseers who do not care to endure the hardships or undergo the dangers necessary in exploring the abyssal "sink-holes" in the region of Elk River. For that reason it is the best known of all the caverns of Randolph. It is sometimes called the Wymer cave.

THE WARD CAVE.

This cavern, tolerably well explored to the distance of 1000 feet or more, lies under Cheat Mountain, about six miles from Beverly on the waters of Flies Creek. Like the Crawford cave, the water flows out of it instead of in, and it is thus distinguished from a "sink-hole." The ingress is not difficult, but careless explorers have become bewildered in the galleries and have extricated themselves only after hours of alarm. The explorer of a cavern should mark his way with chalk or a soapstone pencil, making on the walls and rocks as he enters numerous arrows pointing always toward the mouth of the cave. In returning he has only to follow the flight of arrows.

THE FALLING SPRING CAVERN.

This interesting series of pits, galleries and rooms is a combination of a cave and "sinkhole." Falling Spring Run heads against Mingo Knob and Elk Mountain, and after flowing one and a half miles, and receiving numerous tributaries which make it a stream of considerable size, it approaches within a quarter of a mile of Elk River where it plunges into a yawning gulf, 200 feet in circumference and forty feet deep, and the water is seen no more. It enters a gallery from the bottom of the pit, and is supposed to reach the subterranean channel of Elk River; but exploration has not yet established this as a fact. No one had ever entered the cavern beyond 200 feet until 1896, when an examination was made, in the interest of this book, by Charles J. and Claude W. Maxwell. The work was done in an effort to find a passage into the Elk River Cave, into which this one was supposed to lead. The passage was found easy of descent, except in a few places where precipices and narrow, muddy galleries were encountered, until a depth beyond 1000 feet was reached. The general course of the cavern pitches under the mountain and downward at a rate of about 20 feet in 100.

At places the descent is perpendicular in narrow openings of the limestone. Again the passage is horizontal with a rock-roof thirty and probably forty feet high, narrowing until it is so low that one must drag his body at full length through mud and water; and again enlarging. For the first 1000 feet large quantities of drift-wood are found, logs from 20 to 40 feet long being occasionally seen. Frequently timbers are seen wedged fast in cracks of the roofs of rooms, twenty or thirty feet above the floor. They were driven into these positions by the terrific force of floods poured into the cave from the mountain stream in time of deluge. The picture which the imagination calls up, of the fury of the waters surging and whirling through and among the vaults, galleries, precipices and gurgling throats of the cavern's subterranean reaches, in time of flood, wrapped in blackness so impenetrable that Egypt's darkness was as sunshine, is one which can be appreciated only by those who have penetrated to the nameless depths and have seen the ruin and havoc wrought. Rocks that weigh thousands of pounds have been dashed and hurled from side to side, from depth to depth, until their rounded angles, and their positions, wedged high in crevices, show the measureless power that drove them. Logs have been pounded and splintered. Large rooms, one in particular, show where the subterranean whirlpools did their work. The limestone walls are scoured as if a glacier had polished them.

Beyond the depth of 1100 feet little drift is seen. The passages become so low that nothing large can enter. What goes there must be crushed. The mills of the gods must grind exceedingly small. But the floods go on raging and swirling through the chasms to reach the vast and unseen caverns which must lie below. Exploration beyond that point is difficult and dangerous because of the smallness of the openings and quantity of water. Yet, in time of drought a passage might be found to the Elk River cave. No one should venture in, except on a clear day when there is no danger of rain. A dashing storm might pour a flood in and the explorer in the cave would have no chance of escape. There is no pinnacle nor shelf on which he could climb to escape the water. It fills the cave to the remotest crevices. But, an important discovery no doubt awaits the man who shall be able to follow the cave to the end.

THE MINGO CAVE.

Near the source of Mingo Run, a tributary of Tygart's Valley River, and situated about three miles from Elk River, is Mingo Cave, a cavern not remarkable so much for extent as for its ghostly scenery and the perils which endanger the explorer. It is a "sink-hole," and in 1898 was entered to a depth of 500 feet, nearly perpendicular. The persons who explored Falling Spring Cave also explored this one, with the hope that a passage would be found leading from its lowest depth under the mountain (Mingo Knob) to the Elk River Cave. That hope was not realized, but much of interest was encountered during the descent. It had never been entered before except to the depth of a few rods. One who will exercise constant care may go down more than 500 feet without great danger; but the lack of caution may prove fatal at almost any step. The mouth of the cavern is four or five feet across, and for the first 35 feet the descent is perpendicular, and the persons going down must climb ropes, or poles set in for ladders. The rocks are loose, and there is danger that they will fall upon those who are descending. This cave is evidently the partly filled remnant of a larger

one. It was one which became so large that the roof fell in; and now the original limestone walls are seldom seen, and the original floor perhaps nowhere remains visible. The whole limestone stratum seems to have been hollowed out, and the overlying sandstone has fallen in, and we can now form but an inadequate estimate of the size and form of the original cavern.

After passing the narrow neck, like a chimney, through which the descent into the cave is made, the interior enlarges, and after climbing down 100 feet or more over very rough and slippery rocks, a great cavern opens out, forming a room 132 feet wide, 192 feet long, with a ceiling in places 20 or 30 feet high. The room is gloomy, but not beautiful. Hundreds of tons of broken sandstone have fallen from above and lie piled almost to the roof in places. On one side the original limestone is met, deeply cut by a crevice of which no bottom could be seen by tying a lantern to a long rope and letting it down full length. The floor of the room pitches rapidly down, and the roof bends in the same direction; and the room terminates in a wide, but rather low passage leading down into impenetrable darkness. Here lies danger. After descending over slippery and sliding rocks through a steep passage, about 100 feet, the brink of a precipice is reached athwart the way into whose yawning depth no lantern will throw light. A blunder or a misstep there is fatal. With ropes 100 feet long and at great peril the precipice might be descended, but it is not necessary. Pushing to the left, close under the low roof, a way may be found for descending which is reasonably safe, but by no means easy, and another and larger room is reached. The precipice is one wall of this room. It is irregular in shape, but if its sides galleries and vestibules were filled it would probably seat 10,000 persons, and its ceiling in one place is about 100 feet high. Like the other room it is disfigured and partly filled with broken sandstone. Obscure, difficult and dangerous crevices and openings lead beyond and below this room, the last descent of 90 feet being perpendicular, and through throats so small in places that a man can scarcely squeeze his body through them. Finally the opening becomes so small that further descent is impossible.

The cave was not thoroughly explored. The chasm mentioned in the floor of the first large room, to which no bottom could be seen, may lead to larger galleries below. With ropes long enough, the descent into it should not be difficult; and the most promising field of discovery lies there. The party that explored the cave had no ropes long enough to reach down, and therefore could not enter. There are many caves in that part of Randolph County which have never been explored. Farmers have been hauling logs for generations to fill "sink-holes" which may open into large caves below.

A LEDGE OF FLINT.

Near the "Brady Gate," at the head of Elkwater, is a ledge of flint, from which, no doubt, the Indians obtained the material for their arrow-heads. Flint is very scarce in West Virginia, only a few ledges being known, the chief one being on the Kanawha River. Indians frequently traveled long distances to obtain this material, sometimes carrying it from Ohio, as is supposed from the character of the specimens found about old Indian town-sites in the valley of the Monongahela and its tributaries. Flint is a deposit in crevices of rock and has a resemblance (in form) to veins of coal. It is quartz, in character; but it splits like slate, and in this respect differs from ordinary quartz, which breaks with a ragged fracture.

The flat ledge on the head of Elkwater was discovered by Claude W. Maxwell, of Tucker County, while collecting material for this History of Randolph.

RANDOLPH SALT SULPHUR SPRINGS.

Sixteen miles south of Beverly are the Salt Sulphur Springs. When the country was first settled, deer, buffalo and elk frequented the place for the salt. In 1841 Peter and Currence Conrad began the boring of a well there for the purpose of making salt. They went down 572 feet, but the sulphur in the water injured the salt. They tried to shut out the sulphur water by casing, but the Civil War put a stop to operations. A vein of copper ore 18 inches thick was passed through in boring the well. In 1872 the property was bought by J. N. C. Bell. In 1890 the mineral water began to attract attention. In 1895 a stock company was formed for the purpose of developing the property, and a town was surveyed called Havana. An hotel has been built for the accommodation of visitors. The officers of the company are Wirt C. Ward, president; Perry Bosworth, secretary; L. C. Conrad, treasurer.

INDIAN "LEAD MINES."

There are traditions in Randolph County, the same as in nearly every other county of West Virginia, that Indians had lead mines where they procured metal for bullets, and that they frequently resorted to them, usually tying their prisoners (the traditions always speak of a prisoner) some distance away to prevent them from seeing the mines. There is not a particle of truth in any of these traditions. Indians did not mine lead. They bought it of white traders. They could not have mined it, for they did not possess the means or the knowledge. Lead is very different from coal, which is ready for use when taken from the mine. Lead must pass through a process of smelting and refining, and that process was unknown to the Indians, and an impossibility with them. All stories of Indian lead mines may be dismissed as pure fiction, so far as West Virginia is concerned. About the only metal found in a pure state and made use of by Indians was copper, and none of that has ever existed in West Virginia, so far as known.

CHAPTER XXII.

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MISCELLANEOUS HISTORY.

The present chapter deals with odds and ends of local history, together with individual affairs and the social and intellectual growth of the county. It presents facts and details which could not properly be included in former chapters.

THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTRAL AND PITTSBURG RAILWAY.

Randolph County has nearly as large area as the State of Rhode Island, nearly one-half the population of the State of Nevada, and is the largest county in the State of West Virginia. It is a noticeable fact, therefore, that it has remained until very recently without railroad facilities. The building of a railroad from Piedmont up the North Branch of the Potomac River was discussed from time to time many years before it was accomplished. The great resources of the region were known, and the development of them was an incentive to construct a road up and over the mountains. All during the period from 1851 to 1880 the tide of investment and immigration was running so strongly to the far West that it passed by this portion of the country, so near the Eastern market and containing such possibilities of development, and it was not until 1881 that serious efforts were made to reach the coal and timber which were there in so great abundance.

In 1886 an Act was passed by the Legislature incorporating the Potomac & Piedmont Coal & Railroad Company, but some years passed before any progress was made by the company. About April 29th, 1890, work was commenced on the grading of a road from Piedmont up the Potomac, and on October 19th, 1891, it was opened to traffic to Elk Garden, a distance of eighteen miles. In the meantime, the legislature was asked to enlarge the company's franchise, and on the 21st of February, 1891, the charter was re-enacted with additional powers and privileges, and the name of the company was changed to that of the West Virginia Central & Pittsburgh Railroad Company. Hon. Henry G. Davis, who had been for twelve years in the United States Senate from West Virginia, was the moving spirit in the enterprise. He had declined being a candidate for re-election in order to give his whole time and attention to the subject. He interested a number of his former colleagues in the Senate in the undertaking, and many of the stations along the road are named in their honor. The West Virginia Central & Pittsburgh Railway Company was organized under the new charter, June 25th, 1891, with H. G. Davis, President. Among the directors were James G. Blaine, Augustus Schell, J. N. Camden, William Keyser and H. B. Elkins. Over 37,000 acres of valuable coal, iron and timber lands were acquired by the company; among them being the field contain-

ing the now celebrated Elk Garden mines, from which over 5,000,000 tons of the highest grade of bituminous coal have since been taken. The first object of the promoters of the road was to reach this property, which was only thirteen miles from Piedmont, and by October 19th, 1881, as stated, the road was constructed to that place, the mines were opened, and trains running.

Leaving Elk Garden, the road was continued up the Potomac, crossing the river into Maryland, at a point twenty-seven miles from Piedmont, and returning again eight miles beyond. In August, 1882, the road was opened to a point thirty-two miles from Piedmont, and on the 1st of November, 1884, track-laying was completed to where the towns of Thomas and Davis now stand, the latter at a junction of the Blackwater and Beaver Rivers, fifty-seven and one-half miles from Piedmont, and seven miles from Thomas. The road had now reached the summit of the Alleghany Mountains. It had traversed many miles of coal lands, and was in the heart of the forest containing the largest and finest of hardwood timber. Here mines were located, coke ovens built, saw-mills erected. Since then towns have rapidly occupied the places which, until the coming of the railroad, were visited only by occasional sportsmen. The beautiful valleys, the rich grazing, agricultural and timber lands of the western slope of the mountains, together with a desire to connect to the north and west with the lines of railroad communication there, offered inducements to the company to push on beyond. Starting from Thomas, and going down the waters which flow into the Cheat, on grades sustained high on the mountain sides, the road was continued fourteen miles to Parsons, which it reached early in 1889, and soon after entered Randolph County. On the 18th of August, 1889, trains began running regularly to Elkins, which had formerly been known as Leadsville. The valley here through which the Tygart's Valley River runs, is beautifully situated, containing perhaps a thousand acres of comparatively level land, with gentle grades to the river, and encompassed by mountains, rising one above another in the distance, until four or five ranges complete the framing of the picture. It was an ideal place for a settlement, and the road halted there. Streets and avenues were laid out, ample grounds being retained for the use of the railroad, and the town of Elkins was established, named for Hon. S. B. Elkins, the Vice President of the company. Engine houses and shops were built, and all the facilities required necessary for terminal purposes. The officers of the company at the time named, 1890, were as follows: H. G. Davis, President; S. B. Elkins, Vice President; E. W. S. Moore, Secretary and Treasurer. The directors were: H. G. Davis, West Virginia; S. B. Elkins, West Virginia; T. B. Davis, West Virginia; Wm. W. Taylor, Maryland; John A. Hambleton, Maryland; Wm. H. Gorman, Maryland; R. C. Kerens, Missouri.

The president and vice president both selected Elkins as their future permanent places of residence, and in a short time thereafter erected and occupied handsome homes there. One of the directors, Mr. Kerens, also built a fine residence there, which he and his family occupy during the summer months.

On May 1st, 1891, the company had completed and had trains running on extensions from Elkins to Beverly, seven miles, and from Elkins to Belington, Barbour County, seventeen and a half miles. At the latter place connection is made with the Grafton & Greenbrier branch of the B. & O. Road, which follows Tygart's Valley River to Grafton, and

there connects east and west with the main line of the R. & O. Railroad. The West Virginia Central & Pittsburgh Railway, therefore, runs from the county line of Harlan in a southerly direction, in the County of Randolph, to Beverly, and from Elkins to the county line of Tucker, and affords direct connection to the East via Cumberland, and the West by way of Grafton. The people of the county were living sixty miles or more from a railroad, it was not unusual for them to drive their cattle a hundred miles to market. Their mail deliveries were infrequent, and communications with the larger cities and more densely populated portions of the country were few and irregular. The railroad has wrought a wonderful change in this respect. Valleys and mountains have been brought into closer association; values products of the forest and the field, and the wants of the farmer and the mountainer have been supplied from a nearer, broader and cheaper field of competition.

By the time, or before, this book is in the hands of the reader, the road will have been extended to Huttonsville, eleven miles south of Beverly. The length of the road will then be forty-two miles within Randolph County. It is estimated that the introduction of this railroad has up to the present time, added 5000 people to the permanent population of the county.

THE "RANDOLPH ENTERPRISE."

The first newspaper in Randolph, *The Enterprise*, was founded 1874 by George P. Sargent, who sold it to T. Irvine Wells, who sold it to V. H. Trimble and Bernard L. Butler. They sold the paper to Drs. John and A. S. Bosworth. They sold it to John Hutton, and he sold it to E. D. Talbott and Dr. John Bosworth. Mr. Talbott sold his interest to Floyd Triplett, and Triplett sold it to Dr. A. S. Bosworth. The Bosworth brothers conducted it eight years and sold it to a stock company which still owns it. After the company came into ownership, the editors were George W. Lewis and Stark A. Brown until January, 1894, when J. Ed Kildow became editor and still holds the position.

THE "RANDOLPH REVILLE."

The second paper in Randolph, *The Reville*, was founded by Drs. John and A. S. Bosworth about ten years after the founding of the *Enterprise*. They conducted it six months and merged it into the *Enterprise*, which they had bought. They sold the plant to Hickey Cantfield, who moved it to Moonlightas and started the first paper in that county.

THE "INTER MOUNTAIN."

In 1862 the *Inter Mountain*, Republican in politics, was founded in Elkton under the management of a company. The editorship of the paper was assumed by Prof. N. G. Ryan, who remained in charge until 1884, when Marshall N. Charnell, of Hampshire County, became editor. In 1890 he resigned on account of failing health, and the editorial mantle fell upon William H. Ryan, who managed the paper for some months and was succeeded by Charles E. Beane, in November, 1891. He remained its editor till in August, 1898, when he was succeeded by Herman G. Johnson. The office

and nearly all the outfit of the paper were burned in March, 1897, but the publication was not discontinued, although for a short time it was printed under difficulties.

THE "TYGART'S VALLEY NEWS."

This Democratic newspaper printed at Elkins, began its existence September 18, 1889, under the ownership and management of James A. Bent and Floyd Triplett. It was published in the third building erected in the town of Elkins, sixteen by twenty-four feet, one story high and located on an alley. It was not known at that time that it was on an alley, for the world expanded in unbroken meadows on all sides; but the subsequent building of the town developed the fact that it was located on an alley. That, however, did not stant the newspaper's growth, and today it is located in the finest brick block of the town. Before the first issue was published the paper had 500 subscribers. The circulation has grown steadily until it now is 1200. In January, 1891, Mr. Triplett, who had been elected County Clerk of Randolph, retired temporarily from the newspaper business, and the paper was then taken charge of by Zan F. Collett and John J. Ferguson. Later Mr. Triplett again entered the journalistic field, and he and Mr. Collett conducted the paper until May, 1895, when Mr. Collett, who had been elected captain of volunteers and had gone to the Spanish War, retired from the business and Mr. Triplett assumed sole management. One cause of the paper's steady growth and constant success has been the industrial letters written for it by Claude Phillips of Womelsdorf. He has contributed constantly to its columns for years, and many of the letters have been copied by industrial papers in other parts of the country.

BEVERLY.

The original name of Beverly was Edmondtown, in honor, as is supposed, of Edmond Randolph, after whom the county was named. On December 16, 1790, the Virginia Legislature changed the name to Beverly, in honor of Beverly Randolph. The town occupied 20 acres, laid out on the land of James Westfall, in lots of one-half acre each. They were originally sold at five pounds (\$16.66 $\frac{2}{3}$) each, and the purchaser bound himself to build a house sixteen feet square, with stone or brick chimney, on the lot within five years from the date of purchase. If he failed to do so, the lot was to be sold by the town trustees and the proceeds were to "go to the inhabitants." The purchaser was also bound to pay a perpetual annual rent to James Westfall, or his heirs, 36 cents. But there is no record that this rent was ever paid. The trustees of the town in 1790 were John Wilson, Jacob Westfall, Sylvester Ward, Thomas Phillips, Hezekiah Rosecranz, William Wamsley, Valentine Stalnaker. On January 17, 1848, the Virginia Legislature granted a new charter to the "Borough of Beverly," and on February 10, 1871, the West Virginia Legislature chartered the "Town of Beverly," and in 1882 the Legislature amended the charter to make it conform to the charters of all other towns of the State of less than 1000 inhabitants.

HUTTONSVILLE.

The town of Huttonsville, named from the Hutton family, is noted from the fact that it was the only point west of the Alleghanies at which Governor Letcher's proclamation to the people of West Virginia was published in 1861. The town is at present the terminus of the W. Va. C. & P. R. R. It is situated in the finest part of Tygart's Valley.

WOMELSDORFF.

The town of Womelsdorff, named from O. C. Womelsdorff, elected its first officers June 10, 1894; J. D. Marstiller, mayor, and also postmaster from that time till December 1, 1897, when he was succeeded by George Scott. On May 8, 1894, the first train pulled out of Womelsdorff, consisting of eight cars of coal, bound for Elkins, which place it reached after colliding with a passenger train. On November 3, 1894, a strike of 500 Italians occurred, stopping all public work till Christmas. Outside of the Railroad Company's store, the first was opened by G. E. Talbott. One of the first business men was Stephen Joyce. The first school was taught in 1894, by Miss Alice Durkin; the first school house was built in 1897, and the first school in the new building was taught by C. W. Walden, with Miss Campbell as assistant. The oldest house in the town was built by Milton Curtis, and is now occupied by O. C. Womelsdorff, the founder of the town. The second oldest house was built by Thomas Williams. The first house built after the town was laid out into streets and blocks was built by James Mats; it is now occupied by "Daddy" Holtzman, the oldest man in the town. Mrs. Schwartz kept the first boarding house, and Pat Burke the first saloon. The first fire occurred September 8, 1898, burning George Shipman's building. Church and Sunday School were held in Talbott's Hall till June, 1898, after which they were held in the school house. The town now (1898) contains 67 houses, 156 voters and about 500 people. The Himmelrich saw-mill and the mines give employment to all. There are now two hotels, an opera house, one boarding house and three saloons.

THE TOWN OF ELKINS.

In the year 1889 the town of Elkins was begun by the laying off of lots. Building commenced at once, and in a short time it was the largest village in the county. It was named from Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, who built on a neighboring hill the finest residence in the State. Hon. H. G. Davis and Hon. R. C. Kerens also erected palatial residences on adjacent eminences. The town is situated at the intersection of the Leading Creek Valley and Tygart's Valley, and the surroundings are picturesque, and the view delightful. Rich Mountain sweeps twenty miles along the western side of the valley, and its rounded knobs and long, sloping spurs, wooded from base to summit, form a picture that is restful and pleasing. The growth of the town has been steady. The railroad company has built machine shops and a car factory, and thus the village has a constant source of wealth, added to and supplemented by the rich agricultural country on all sides. The proximity of the Roaring Creek coal fields, with their almost exhaustless wealth, the development of which has only commenced, makes Elkins a natural center for supplies and a point for wholesale trade. The town has a population of 8000; fine schools, excellent churches of all the leading denominations; progressive and successful business men, and all the elements on which to found a prediction of a great future.

WEST HUTTONSVILLE.

This village, located on the Middle Fork, was founded in 1880 by Claude Goff, Alfred Hutton, Elihu Hutton, Charles E. Lutz and others. Many of the settlers were Swiss, who came under the leadership of Mr. Lutz, among them being Jacob Rothenbuhler, Jacob Pfeister, John Rush, A. Brenwalt and many others. Some remained but a short time, others made their homes

there, in a region surrounded by fine timber, and with an excellent soil. The lumber business was profitable, and a little railroad, only one and a half miles long, was built there, called the "Pleasant Valley Railroad." Other railroads, one from Alexander, the other from Womelsdorf, have surveys toward West Huttonsville. Among the early settlers in that vicinity were John Fincham, of Loudoun County, Va.; Michael Shannon and Squire B. Kittle.

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS OF RANDOLPH.

Few counties of the South have complete records of their Confederate soldiers; but many of them long ago undertook to compile such lists. Randolph began late, and some names may be lost forever. What follows is believed to be correct so far as it goes.

THIRTY-FIRST VIRGINIA INFANTRY.*

James Anthony, Joseph H. Anthony, killed at Fort Steadman; Jack Apperson, Jefferson Arbogast, killed at the "Bloody Angle;"† Moses Bennett, John W. Bosworth (Lieut.), S. N. Bosworth (Sergeant); Joseph H. Chenoweth (Major), killed at Port Republic; Z. T. Currence, Eli Currence, Emmet Crawford, Burne Crawford, died of wounds, 1863; Jacob Currence (Capt.) resigned 1861. N. S. Channel, Cyrus Crouch, killed at Fredericksburg; Milton Crouch, killed at Cold Harbor; Garland Cox, died in prison; Peter Couger, Henson Douglass, killed at the "Bloody Angle;" William Daft; Edward Daft; Adam E. Folks, (Corporal); John Folks, killed at the Wilderness; George Gainor, Eugene Hutton, killed at Bunker Hill, Va.; George E. Hogan, Levi Hebener, Adam Hebener, killed at Spotsylvania; Andrew Hebener, scout for Lee, killed at Elkwater; J. F. Harding (Captain, afterwards Major of cavalry) Marion Harding, killed at Elkwater, Oct., 1862; George Harding, died in camp; Thomas Heron, Edward Kittle, killed at the "Bloody Angle;" Marshall Kittle, killed in Beverly at the Hill raid, 1864; Asa Kelly, died of wounds at McDowell; Charles Kelly, John Logan, G. W. Louk, John Louk, Claud Louk, Dudley Long (2d Lieut.), killed at Petersburg; J. H. Long (Corporal), killed at Port Republic; Thomas Long, died in hospital;‡ O. H. P. Lewis, (Lieut.),§ Walter Lewis, died in hospital; Thomas Lewis, killed at Fort Steadman; Stephen D. Lewis, John Lewis, Jr. killed at Cedar Mountain; John Lewis, Sr.;|| William Lemmon, died of wounds at McDowell; Jacob Lemmon, died in hospital; James W. Lemmon, John D. Moore, died in hospital; Andrew C. Mace, Elisha McCloud, John R. Pritt, Homan Pritt, Newton Potts, B. F. Potts, John Quick, died from wounds; Claud Raider, George W. Rowan (Corporal), Jacob Riggelman, Washington Riggelman, Joshua Ramsay, died of wounds; Thomas Ramsay, Branch Robinson, George Salisbury (Lieut.), Hiram Smith, Chesley Simmons, David Simmons, Joseph Simmons, Franklin Stalnaker, died in hospital.

*This list was compiled from records and gathered from the recollections of the living by G. W. Printz, of Beverly, W. Va.

†This place was at Spotsylvania Court-House. In the battle of May 12, 1864, General Hancock broke General Lee's line by a charge. The Confederates under General Gordon, retook the works after one of the most desperate battles of the war. The trenches where the hardest fighting occurred were called the "Bloody Angle."

‡The last three named were brothers.

§This man was one of the prisoners placed under fire of his comrades at Charleston, S. C., in reply to a threat made by the Confederates that they would expose Federal prisoners to the Federal fire unless the Union batteries ceased firing into the city.

||This man was the father, and the five preceding were his sons.

tal; Abesalom Shiflett, D. H. Summers, John C. Sweeney, John M. Sweeney, Thomas Shelton, David Shelton, Joseph Stipes, killed at the "Bloody Angle;" William Stipes, Josiah Vandeventer, Adam Vandeventer, William H. Wilson (Lieut.), David O. Wilson, James R. Wilson, James D. Wilson (Corporal), James W. Wilson, W. H. Wamsley, Enoch Wamsley, L. D. Westfall, John M. Wood, Joseph Wood, Randolph Wise, lost arm at Chantilly.

EIGHTEENTH VIRGINIA CAVALRY.

L. D. Adams, John Bennett, Jacob Chenoweth, Judson Goddin (Sergeant), Charles Myers, L. G. Potts, William Powers, George Powers, Thomas Powers, killed; Adam C. Stalnaker, Eli Taylor, Jetson Taylor, Haman Taylor (Capt.), killed at Winchester, 1864; Elam Taylor (Lieut.), H. H. Taylor, F. M. Taylor, Perry Taylor, J. W. Triplett, Oliver Triplett, Frank Triplett, killed on Gandy Creek; James Duncan Wilson, George Ward, Perry Wees, Duncan Wees, Haymond Wees, Lafayette Ward.

TWENTIETH VIRGINIA CAVALRY.

J. N. C. Bell, William H. Coberly, A. C. Croesch, John H. Dewitt, Claude Goff, Elihu Hutton (Colonel), John Heron, Eugenius Isner, Morgan Kittle, John Killingsworth, M. P. H. Potts, Jacob Salisbury, killed at Winchester, Sheldon Salisbury, Adam Stalnaker, Harrison Westfall, Fred White.

NINETEENTH VIRGINIA CAVALRY.

John Baker, J. H. Currence, Adam C. Currence, Archibald Earle, Simon Fowler, Nathan Fowler, Ira Kittle, John Kinney, Thomas G. Lindsay, James A. Logan, Thomas Logan, David H. Lilly, John Manly, James Morrison, killed at Droop Mountain; Adam Propst, jr.; Jesse W. Simmons, Jonas Simmons, Nimrod Shiflett, J. S. Wamsley (Capt.), Randolph Wamsley, Samuel B. Wamsley, Adam H. Wamsley, George F. Wamsley, George Ware, John Ware, Allen Ware, Elihu B. Ward, Jacob G. Ward (Lieut.), R. S. Ward, L. M. Ward, Jacob Wilmoth, David J. Wilmoth.

MCCLANAHAN'S BATTERY.

Andrew Chenoweth, Adam C. Caplinger, C. L. Caplinger, John Caplinger, Parkinson C. Collett (Lieut.), Andrew J. Collett (Sergeant), Hoy Clark, James Daniels (bugler), Harper Daniels, Calvin C. Clark, John C. Clark, C. B. Clark, John Marsteller, died at Bridgewater; David B. Marsteller, Blackman Rummell, died in prison; Jacob Wees, Andrew C. Wees.

SIXTY-SECOND VIRGINIA INFANTRY.

A. Canfield, S. B. Kittle*, William Keasey, Cyrus Myers, Randolph Phillips, Moses Phillips, George Phillips.

CHURCHVILLE CAVALRY.
Andrew C. Goddin (Lieut.).

TWENTY-FIFTH VIRGINIA INFANTRY.

Jacob Heater, Dock Heater, Herbert Murphy, Jacob Mathews (Capt.), Charles Mathews, James Shannon, Michael Shannon, Martin Shannon, Curtis Taylor, W. T. Ware, Starms Gainer, Andrew J. Murphy.

SCOUTS.

William Nelson, killed on Dry Fork; Thomas Wood.

S. B. *There were five Kittle brothers in the service, George, Marshall, Ira, Edward and

FEDERAL SOLDIERS FROM RANDOLPH.

No list has ever been compiled of the Union soldiers from Randolph County. Many Federal soldiers now living in the county did not live here when they joined the army. Those well posted on the subject estimate that the number who went from Randolph to the Union army was from seventy-five to one hundred.

RANDOLPH IN THE SPANISH WAR.

When war against Spain was declared in April, 1898, no county in West Virginia responded more promptly to the call for volunteers than Randolph. This always has been a county noted for its excellent fighting material. It commenced with the Revolution, with its full quota; did the same in the War of 1812; and in the Mexican War it was ready with its volunteers, which were never needed; and in the Civil War its men went by the hundred, to the North or to the South. The mountains of West Virginia sent soldiers surpassed by none, and Randolph's were equal to the best in the State, whether they rode under the Stars and Stripes with Averell's cavalry, or marched under the Virginia colors with Imboden, Early or Jackson. In the Spanish War the same spirit was seen, and many more offered their services than were needed. Following is a list of those who went, mostly in Company E, First W. Va. Vol. Infantry, but a few in other companies: Zen F. Collett, Captain; James Hanley, jr., First Sergeant; John J. Nallen, Second Sergeant; H. B. O'Brien, Third Sergeant; C. D. Poling, W. C. Kennedy, T. J. Collett, T. J. Goddin, David F. Foy and J. E. Wees, Corporals; Frank A. Rowan, C. L. Weymouth and H. Plats Musicians in the Regimental Band; G. W. Buckley, Wagoner; Privates, Bruce Phares, James R. Collier, C. L. Lewis, Cyrus J. Warner, John S. Garber, Leslie Harding, William Russell, C. Lloyd, J. Lloyd, K. Bennett, W. Welsch, S. Knox, Wm. W. Staffey, F. W. Orris, T. J. Smith, H. Crawford Scott, Braxton O. Meeks, Stewart Anthony, —— Wamsley. Davis Elkins was on Gen. Copinger's staff. In addition to these, Randolph had three soldiers in the regular army at the battle of Santiago, Robert L. Hamilton, First Lieutenant; Walter Phillips, Hospital Steward, and Mr. Wolf, of the Twenty-second Infantry.

OLD LAND PATENTS.

All the land between the Alleghany Mountains and the Ohio River, in West Virginia, except a few grants by the King of England to companies or individuals, once belonged to the State of Virginia; and all land titles in that region are traced back, through all possessors, to the time when the land belonged to the State. There were several methods by which individuals could obtain titles to land from the State. One way was to settle on the land, raise a crop of corn, and receive a deed for 400 acres; another way was to pre-empt 1000 acres, paying a small sum for it; a third way was to buy it from the State in any desired quantity. It appears, from the reading of Hening's "Statutes at Large" (vol. 10, p. 35) that lands in the northwestern part of Virginia were not sold by the State prior to May 8, 1778. On that date a law was passed providing for giving deeds to persons who had claimed not later than January 1, 1778. It is well known that many well-improved farms were in Randolph prior to that time. Nearly all the good land in Tygart's Valley had been occupied as early as 1774. When the time came for Virginia to give deeds to her lands, she respected the claims of the first settlers. In fact, the State taxed the settlers on these lands long be-

fore patents were issued. It is stated elsewhere in this book that in 1768 the King of England forbade settlers to occupy lands in West Virginia between the Ohio River and the Alleghany Mountains, and the order had not been revoked when the Revolution began; consequently deeds to lands could not be given. During the first years of the Revolution, although England's authority over the land was not recognized, yet there was so much confusion and excitement that Virginia took no steps to sell the land until 1779. This explains why land titles in this part of the State cannot be traced beyond that year. Up to that time the people had occupied their lands and had paid taxes, but had no deeds.

From 1779 until 1863 Virginia deeded waste lands, between the Alleghany and the Ohio, to settlers and purchasers, and West Virginia has done so since the formation of the State in 1863. The territory now in Randolph was a part of Augusta County up to 1770, and Virginia gave no deeds in the limits. From 1770 to 1784 Randolph was a part of Monongalia, and in 1782 lands now in Randolph began to be deeded. From 1782 to 1784, both inclusive, about 150 patents were issued for lands now in Randolph, but during that time they were in Monongalia. From 1784 to 1787 Randolph's territory was in Harrison County, and in that time about 250 patents were issued by the State. Thus, up to the formation of Randolph, there had been issued within its limits not above 400 deeds by the State. From 1787 to 1813 the State of Virginia issued 2258 deeds in Randolph County; and from 1863 to 1884 West Virginia issued 89. By this process all, or nearly all, of the lands have passed from the ownership of the State to the ownership of individuals. In early years speculators patented large tracts, from 10,000 to 200,000 acres—sometimes overlapping scores of farms—but the speculators could not hold the land already occupied. In most cases those large tracts were sold for taxes, or in some other way were cut up and went to the people.

In 1781, and in later years, commissioners were appointed by the State to settle conflicting claims and give patents to lands. The law of 1779 did not apply to lands north of the Ohio River which at that time were in Virginia. That was not put on the market until later.

RIVER IMPROVEMENT.

On December 9, 1795, the Virginia Legislature passed an act for the improvement of Tygart's Valley River from the falls above Fairmont to the narrows below Elkins, to render it possible for fish to ascend. A committee for securing and collecting subscriptions for prosecuting the work consisted of Robert Maxwell, Abraham Kittle, John Pancake, Abraham Springstone, Jacob Stainaker, Benjamin Hornbeck, Simon Reeder, Hezekiah Rosencrans and Jonas Friend. There is no evidence that anything was ever done by the committee; certain it is that few improvements, if any, in the river were made.

FIRST MILL AT MINGO.

According to John M. Woods, who is well informed on the early events of the upper end of the county, the first saw-mill in Mingo was built by Edward Woods and John Smiley at the Laurel Thicket, on H. C. Tally's place, near Valley Head, in 1822. The wagon which hauled the irons for the mill was the first that crossed the mountain to Mingo. It was driven by Augustus Woods, who cut the road as he came. He drove two horses from Jackson's River. The first grist mill on the upper fifteen miles of the river was built by Peter Conrad, about 1820 or 1821, where

Harmon Conrad now lives. According to Mr. Woods the four original settlers of Mingo were William Mace, where Captain J. W. Marshall now lives; Peter Harper, on Railston Run; Henry Kitter, on Trough Spring Farm, and Ferdinand Stainaker, above Mingo Church.

HUNTERS AND FARMERS.

Surprise has often been expressed that early settlers with the whole country before them from which to choose, selected land by no means the best. This is explained by the fact that many of the pioneers were more hunters than farmers. They lived on the best hunting grounds. It is related that the best hunting ground in Randolph was not along the broad bottom lands, but rather near the head of the river and on tributary streams. Nearly the only money in circulation was derived from hunting. The skins were carried to eastern markets and sold. As late as 1841, three men in the upper part of the county entered into a partnership to hunt, to raise money to pay for their land. They were Mace, Harper and Stainaker. They killed in one season, 169 deer and 49 bear, carried the meat to Clover Lick and sold it at three cents a pound.

INDIAN TOMAHAWK AND SCALPING KNIFE.

Samuel Conrad, who lives at Valley Head has what appears to be a genuine Indian scalping-knife and tomahawk, which he plowed up on his farm in the immediate vicinity of a well-known Indian trail. They are badly eaten by rust. Several fights with the Indians occurred in that neighborhood, and it is not improbable that a wounded Indian died where the knife and tomahawk were found. All iron implements in the hands of Indians were bought or stolen by them from white people. Their own manufactures consisted of stone, bone, shell, horn and wood. The upper part of Tygart's Valley abounds with Indian relics of many kinds, some belonging to a period prior to their intercourse with Europeans and some after.

GENERAL LEE AT ELKWATER.

In a former chapter of this book an account is given of General Lee's attack on Cheat Mountain and Elkwater in September, 1861. What is there said is mostly taken from reports of Federal and Confederate officers, and from White's *Life of Lee*. A few additional facts have been obtained. When Lee moved down on the Marlinton pike he sent a scouting party down the Dry Branch of Elk and up Valley Fork to the head of Elkwater. These encountered the Federal outposts near the "Brady Gate," and in the skirmish several men were killed or wounded. In moving from near the mouth of Stewart's Run toward Cheat Mountain the Confederates followed an old Indian trail. The Federal paymaster, Lock, with his wagon containing a million dollars, barely escaped capture at Cheat Pass. It took the wrong road, and the paymaster was two or three days hunting for it, while it was blundering around



Map Showing Indian Trails Across Cheat Mountain.—See also page 179.

in the mountains, surrounded by squads of Confederates, who were unaware that such a rich prize was in their vicinity.* After Lee had advanced within two miles of Elkwater, and there had been skirmishing for some time, he called a council of war at the Adam See house, at which several officers were present, including General Loring. This officer said he could capture the Federal position with the loss of sixty men. Lee answered that the capture of the place was not worth sixty men.† General Lee explained that the retention of the country would be difficult, if captured, and that his force was being threatened from the Kanawha Valley. When they fell back they encamped the first night at Miago. In their advance they had encountered Federals near Harmon Conrad's, and ascertaining that other Federals were farther up the valley and liable to attack in the rear, they began to entrench. Small earthworks are still seen there. It was a false alarm.

ANDREW JACKSON'S FUNERAL.

Among the papers of David Blackman, at the time of his death, was found a circular dated Clarksburg, July 5, 1845, of which the following is a copy:

TO THE PUBLIC: The funeral ceremonies in honor of Major General Andrew Jackson, ex-President of the United States, will be celebrated at Clarksburg, Va., on Saturday the 12th of July inst., by a procession and sermon. The committee would respectfully and cordially invite their fellow-citizens and the surrounding counties to participate with them on this interesting and solemn occasion, in paying the last sad tribute to the departed patriot, hero and statesman.

G. A. D. CLARK, A. P. BARNES, BENJ. BASSELL, JR., BENJ. DOLDEKARNE, C. W. SMITH, JAMES DILWORTH, G. A. DAVISON, Committee.

DIED AT FORT DELAWARE.

In the summer of 1863 when General W. L. Jackson attacked Beverly, a party of road makers, citizens of Randolph and Barbour, were taken prisoner and sent to Richmond. They were soon released and they came home. But before their return the Federals arrested thirteen citizens of Randolph and held them as hostages and sent them to Fort Delaware, near Philadelphia. The hostages were Lennox Camden, William Salsbury and his son, Pugh Chenoweth, Levi D. Ward, Allen Isner, Philip Isner, William Clemm, Smith Crouch, Thomas Crouch, John Caplinger, John Leary and Charles Russell. All but the last four died from drinking the vile water of Delaware Bay. Frank Phares went to Fort Delaware and secured the release of the survivors.

THE SWISS COLONY AT ALPINA.†

It was in April, 1879, that the main body of the Alpina Colony waded its weary way across the then almost impassable Shaver's Mountain. The warm April sun, glimmering amid the myriad branches of trees whose foliage was just awakening from its winter's slumber, lending new enchantment to the great expanse of forest, so welcome to the European's eye, lightened somewhat the anxious hearts of the courageous fathers and mothers seeking to found new homes in a strange land amid a strange

* Eli H. Crouch, of Elkwater, is authority for this statement.

† Captain J. W. Marshall, of Mingo, who was with Lee as a guide, is authority for this statement.

‡ This account of the Swiss settlement at Alpina is from the pen of Prof. John G. Kauff, of the Fairmont Normal School.

people, in order to give their growing families an opportunity for that expansion and improvement impossible in the crowded countries of the East. Wary, indeed, were they from nearly a month's travel, full of hardships, dangers and miseries. The jostling of cars, the tossing of the ship by wave and wind, and resistant sea-birds, and finally, and not least, the tumbling and pitching of the heavy road wagon over the untrod roads were enough to dishearten the hearts of the most hopeful. Yet, as they gazed from the summit of this last great barrier that separated them from their goal, down over the vast expanse of forest before them, they felt that now they were at last to enter into that land of promise where milk and honey flowed in lavish abundance.

At last the place that was to be the temporary rendezvous of the "Immigrants" was reached and many a heart sickened at sight of the rude log shanties enclosing a quadrangular court, built for their reception. The larger rooms were about twelve by twenty feet, and here large families were supposed to live, eat and sleep. But their hearts were by this time prepared for the worst, and they crowded into the little cabins as best they could, the smaller families often inviting some of the children of the larger ones to sleep in their cabins. In this way they found at least a place to lay their heads. Here then, in a place not exceeding one hundred feet square, were congregated not less than a score of families, together with many single adventurers. But bad as was this state of affairs, it was soon plainly evident to the newcomers that lack of sufficient "standing room" was by no means the greatest hardship to encounter, for now many were already drawing heavily upon their purses, lightened by the large expenditures incident to so long a journey. The problem of living or working out a living was now facing them and demanding immediate solution, and now dawned upon those whose means were small the utter helplessness of their condition. Strangers in a strange land, unable to speak the language of the natives, without visible means of support (there being no demand for work of any kind), they were indeed in a pitiable condition. There was no cleared land for the raising of crops. The crops themselves were new to the foreigners, and they knew not when to plant, how to care for and when to harvest them; and who could tell them? for the would-be agents were as unacquainted with these facts as were themselves. The few that did have the good fortune to secure a cleared spot large enough to warrant tilling knew as little about raising even that the general modus operandi was about as follows: A large sod was pressed up with the hoe, corn (often to the quantity of a handful) devoured under it and the sod carefully placed back. Its subsequent care took largely of this general excellency of procedure, and the resultant crop was, of course, something astonishing. With potatoes they fared better, for they knew a little about their cultivation.

The whole outlook, however, was so discouraging that at the approach of winter many became disheartened, shook the dust off their feet, pronounced a last benediction upon the agents who had so artfully deceived them into this wilderness of woe, and departed for regions unknown, content, after this brief experience, to desist from the pursuit of the goddess of Famine, and to implore the more humble goddess of Food.

But nothing daunted, that portion of the brave little band of settlers that have become the founders of this colony bought up the land that could be obtained and set about to clear places large enough for the erection of houses. A thrilling experience this! They who had been taught from their

youth up to practice the strictest economy in regard to wood were now actually to cut down the largest forest trees and burn them to ashes! Ah, none but a European can know the significance of this fact. It proved too much for many of the economic foresters, and instead of rolling the logs in heaps, as they afterward found necessary to do, they sawed them with great care into lengths suitable for lumber, in the vain hope of placing this so valuable product—spruce pine—upon the market, and of thus early realizing a small fortune from their wild investments! Poor, deluded people! Nearly twenty years have passed over their heads since then, and many sleep beneath the green sod made by so much pain and labor to take the place of the sturdy hemlock, and still those everlasting hemlock stumps resist alike the plowman's share and all the ordinary agents of decomposition!

The work of clearing was a very tedious one indeed, and had to be learned by them as any wholly new work would have to be learned by any workman. But they worked on. Now winter was at hand, and since they had not yet completed their houses they prepared to meet the grim foe as best they could in their shanties. The large cracks were daubed with mud; and by huddling close together, as they necessarily did around the cooking stove, they managed to remain alive, but oft times waking in the morning they found their beds covered to a depth of one or two inches with snow. Food was none too plentiful and commanded a high price: for it will be remembered that Webster was then the nearest railroad point, and that wagoning over those scarcely traceable mountain paths was by no means a parochial occupation, marked by lively competition. But the winter passed and with the coming of spring the hopes and aspirations of the colonists were roused from their dormancy, and with renewed zeal they entered upon their humble tasks. Amid their many cares it is to be remarked that they did not entirely forget education and religion, for their children were sent to school the first winter, though the school house was one and a half miles distant; and at the end of the first year they had made fair headway toward the erection of a church—the one that now crowns the beautiful eminence overlooking the village. But how sadly were their numbers reduced! From a colony of a hundred persons or more only a half dozen families remain, who, by the severest wrestling with forest and brier, have managed to eke out an existence and remain to tell the tale.

THE LAST ELK.

Without doubt Randolph County can justly claim that the last elk in West Virginia was killed within its borders, although probably the exact spot is now in the territory of Tucker County. The assertion, so long permitted to go undisputed, that the last elk met its death in the Kanawha Valley above Charleston, in 1815,* is far from correct. Years after that elk was killed, the wife of Thomas B. Summerfield shot one at a deer lick near the Sinks of Gandy. The exact date of this cannot be ascertained, but it was probably as late as 1830. However, that was not the last one, by several. About 1835, Abraham Mullinix killed an elk at the Sinks of Gandy, and Captain J. H. Lambert, who now lives on Dry Fork, and is 71 years old, remembers the occurrence, and also remembers that he ate a piece of the elk. He was then about eight years old. In 1840, or about

* See Hale's "Trans-Alleghany Pioneers." He says the last buffalo was killed on the Kanawha in 1830. Randolph claims a later one.

that time, an elk was killed in Randolph, near the mouth of Red Creek; and about three years later three Elks were killed in Canaan Valley, near where the town of Davis in Tucker County, now stands, by the Flanagan and Josab Carr, who were in the habit of going there to hunt. Thus the last elk to fall before the hunter's rifle in Randolph was about 1842. During the war, three scouts on Chest Mountain claimed they saw an elk, but they did not kill it, and they may have been mistaken; however, there was nothing improbable in their claim. The last wolf killed in Randolph was in 1867; the last buffalo about 1855, although the date is uncertain. A buffalo cow and her calf were discovered at a lick in Webster County, and the people with dogs gave chase. They killed the calf on Valley Fork of Elk and the dogs ran the cow to Valley Head, 25 miles south of Beverly, and there she was shot. It is believed that no buffalo was killed in the State after that.

LAST INDIAN RAID ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS.

Only one time, after the close of the Indian troubles, from 1754 to 1764, did the Indians cross the Alleghanies on a raid. During the war which began in 1777 and closed in 1783, they crossed that mountain only once. That was in the summer of 1782, when 30 savages, led by an outlawed Englishman named Timothy Dorman, burnt the fort at Buckhannon, broke up the settlement there, killed Adam Stalnaker near Beverly, and then followed the old Shawnee trail across to Dry Fork, and reached the top of the Alleghany Mountains at the head of Horse Camp, and passed down the eastern side into what is now Pendleton County. A short distance from the top of the mountain, on the waters of Seneca Creek, lived the Gregg family, with whom Dorman had formerly made his home. The local tradition is that he wanted to marry one of Gregg's daughters, and that after he had taken her prisoner, he offered to spare her life if she would consent to marry him. She refused and he killed her. The settlers pursued the Indians, and overtook them at the "Strader Spring," on top of the Alleghany, where Jacob C. Harper now lives, but there were too many Indians, and no attack was made.

FIRST STEAM SAW MILL.

The first steam saw-mill in the county, as is claimed by those who are posted, was brought to Dry Fork from Virginia in 1878.

DRAGGED BY A BULL.

Isaac Vincent was a slave, bought in Richwood and raised near Huttonsville. He remained with his master during the Civil War, and died sometime after 1865. On one occasion he discovered a very large buck swimming in the river near his home, and he swam in and caught it by the horns. As long as he could touch bottom, and it could not, he could manage it, but when it came to the shore it caught him on its horns and ran with him. He was unable to extricate himself, and was dragged half a mile. All his clothing was torn off and he was covered with blood when rescued by Charles See.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE STANTON AND PARKERSBURG TURNPIKE.

Below will be found copies of original subscription lists found among the papers of the late David Blackman:

"We, the undersigned, agree and bind ourselves severally, each for himself alone, to pay to the Board of Public Works, or such person as said

Board may
and Parks
made a poll
at Beverly
in the said co-
unty. W.
W. C. Haig
J. Hart...
G. D. Cox
Jacob My
Squire Be
Lorenz C
R. W. Ki
Adam Cr
Franklin
George M
Thomas
George
Hance
Gabriel
Adam E
Elijah P
John C
William
W. Tay
B. W.
D. Hines
My Br
A. Hins
John S
Wm. J
Isaac
Asa
Sam
Aug.
John
W. J.
Gari
Sebe
Wad
John
Jess
Thos
that
don
Will
Wes
Jesse
Jess
Geo
a

Board may designate, for the purpose of making that part of the Staunton and Parkersburg road that runs south of Beverly, provided Beverly be made a point and the money be laid out for making the road commencing at Beverly, the sum severally annexed to our names, when required by the said road for the purpose of paying for the construction of the said road. Witness our hands and seals October 5, 1840:

W. C. Haymond	\$200 00	George W. Caplinger	\$ 20 00
J. Hart	125 00	J. W. Crawford	100 00
H. D. Canfield	25 00	Eli Kittle	100 00
Jacob Myers	200 00	A. Earle	150 00
Squire Howorth	50 00	E. D. Collett	25 00
Samuel Chenoweth	100 00	Abalons Crawford	25 00
R. W. Kittle	25 00	David Goff	50 00
Adam Crawford	25 00	B. L. Brown	25 00
Franklin Leonard	25 00	David Holder	10 00
George M. Hart	25 00	B. Kittle	15 00
Thomas O. Williams	25 00	J. Arnold	50 00
George H. Lee	25 00	Martin Haynor	200 00
Hawen Scott	25 00	A. B. Ward	25 00
Gabriel Chenoweth	10 00	Joseph Schoonover	25 00
Adam D. Caplinger	10 00	John Taylor	10 00
Klijah Kittle	25 00	Job Wees	10 00
John Chenoweth	5 00	George McLean	20 00
William Wamsley	5 00	Hoy McLean	20 00
W. Taylor	10 00	Wm. T. Chenoweth	25 00
B. W. Shurtliff	100 00	H. W. Campbell	10 00
D. Blackstone	200 00	Philip Clemm	10 00
Ely Butcher	100 00	Henry Harper	100 00
A. Winkle	30 00	John J. Chenoweth	25 00
John Stalmaker	50 00	George Buckley	50 00
Wm. Rowan	50 00	Wm. Foggy	1 00
Isaac F. Hays	10 00	John Marsiller	20 00
Arnold Bonstelle	10 00	Moses Triplett	10 00
Samuel Elliott	20 00	George Caplinger	25 00
Ang. J. Smith	25 00	John Hornbeck	40 00
John B. Earle	25 00	Thomas Collett	50 00
W. J. Long	100 00	Jacob Haigler	100 00
Gawin Hamilton	50 00	Moses Harper	25 00
Solomon C. Caplinger	5 00	George W. Chenoweth	10 00
Washington Stalmaker	5 00	Peter Buckley	50 00
John Ward	25 00	Wm. McLean	5 00
Jesse H. Stalmaker	25 00	Wm. Daniels	50 00
Thomas J. Caplinger	20 00		

The following list, dated November 15, 1840, was signed on condition that the road pass through both Beverly and Buckhannon, and that the money subscribed be expended in making the road between those towns.

William Beoverlin	\$ 20 00	George Post	\$ 5 00
Western Mills	175 00	John Vanhorn	5 00
Jacob Houser	10 00	Simon Rohrbaugh	5 00
Joseph Liggett	10 00	John L. Walden	5 00
George Olson	5 00	Edward L. Colordice	20 00

Elias Howenner.....	\$ 15 00	Thomas B. Kelce.....	\$ 4 00
Moses Phillips.....	3 00	D. S. Haselden.....	100 00
Enoch Gibson.....	20 00	Henry Simpson.....	25 00
Andrew Poundstone.....	50 00	James J. Mooney.....	15 00
George Nicholas.....	15 00	Jacob Lorentz.....	25 00
Zadock Lauhan.....	15 00	John B. Brake.....	10 00
Elmore Brake.....	5 00	Abraham W. Brake.....	10 00
William Baird.....	10 00	John N. Rohrbaugh.....	8 00
James Griffith.....	5 00	Alex. R. Ireland.....	5 00
Marshall Lorentz.....	5 00	Levi Liggett.....	5 00
Teeter Keesling.....	5 00	William Greyson.....	15 00
Wm. McNulty.....	5 00	James Louden.....	2 00
Clark W. McNulty.....	15 00	H. P. Kittle.....	5 00

ENTERTAINED LORENZO DOW.

An old log house in Beverly, near the eastern end of the bridge, has an historic interest from the fact that it sheltered Lorenzo Dow, the great Methodist missionary who in the early part of the present century traveled through the wilds of America as well as through Europe. At that time the house was occupied by Dr. Benjamin Dolbear, who was long a resident of Randolph, representing the county twenty years in the Legislature.

Mrs. Dow was a sister of Dr. Dolbear. The house is now used by Dr. A. S. Bosworth as a home. Lorenzo Dow, when he first visited Beverly, preached on a log near town. He filled two or three appointments here, announcing them a year ahead, and when the time came, he was always on hand. His book, now very scarce, was printed in Wheeling, 1848. He published his early works in England and New York.

GRAVE OF SALATHIEL GOFF.

Salathiel Goff was president of the first court of Randolph County. He died of cancer in 1791, and at the time of his death the Indians were threatening the settlement at St. George. Goff's request that he be buried under a hickory tree on his farm was complied with, but while the funeral was in progress there was constant and immediate danger of attack from Indians. The settlers hurried back to the fort as soon as the grave was filled. The grave and the rude stone slabs, with the square-cut letters, are still to be seen on the farm of W. E. Cupp, late Sheriff of Tucker County.

MEMORABLE PATCH OF GINSENG.

Perhaps the largest patch of ginseng ever discovered in the world, at least in the wild state, was probably found in Randolph County about 1840. The discovery was made by W. H. Wilson, grandfather of the present clerk of the circuit court, while he was surveying the line between Randolph and Pocahontas Counties. The discovery was lost sight of till the war, when Thomas Wood, a scout, re-discovered it while ranging through the mountains in that uninhabited region. He told of it to acquaintances in Webster County, and they collected a company and dug the ginseng. At the low price then prevailing, not one-fourth of present prices for the root, they sold \$600 worth from that patch.



Stopping place of Lorenzo Dow
in Beverly.

PRE-HISTORIC MOUNDS.

In different parts of Randolph County, but more abundantly along Tygart's Valley, are mounds built by human bands, but no man knows when. There are, probably, as many as forty in the valley, and upon the adjacent hills, seventeen of them being in the vicinity of Huttonsville. They are found on the Middle Fork, on Shaver's Fork, on Dry Fork, and on the very summit of the Alleghany Mountain, southeast of Dry Fork. One on the bottom land above the mouth of Red Creek has been plowed down nearly to a level, and the plow has torn out skulls, stone hatchets and chipped stone implements. Few of the mounds have been excavated; but those which have been opened contained no metal; only stone implements, and human bones. Eli H. Crouch plowed up on his farm at Elkwater, a quartzite wheel, four inches in diameter, one inch thick at the rim, with both sides concave. It resembled a double concave lens; or in shape it is like two shallow saucers placed bottom to bottom. Through the center is a hole one inch in diameter. Shallow scratches on the surface indicate that the implement was fashioned into its present shape by incessantly rubbing it on sandstone. The quartzite is very hard, and the labor was enormous. No use for it can be suggested, unless it was as an ornament. It was found within a mile of the large mound at Elkwater, and Mr. Crouch loaned it to the West Virginia University. In 1854, Dr. G. W. Yokum opened a mound on Big Island Creek near the Randolph and Barbour line. A large oak grew on the mound, showing great age. In the mound he found a man's thigh bone, and from its great length he concluded that it belonged to a man not less than seven feet tall. Being acquainted with bones and skeletons, Dr. Yokum would not be mistaken, and his testimony in this particular is valuable, because many people consider giants as myths. A thigh bone of equal or greater length was unearthed opposite Sycamore Island, in the Horse Shoe, Tucker County, about the beginning of the nineteenth century; but all who saw it are now dead. Alfred Hutton, who has two mounds on his farm, near Huttonsville, has a fragment of a thigh bone, and a stone hatchet taken from one of them. In a mound four miles above Beverly, fragments of bone and two stone pipes were taken. Few of the mounds have been opened and there is a field for research by antiquarians who are looking for relics of an extinct people.

The largest mound is about 42 feet across the base and about six feet high. From that they vary, down to ten feet across and a foot or two high. On the hill above the town of Crickard is what the people call an "Indian Ring." It resembles the ring where they ride horses in a circus, and is 45 feet in diameter. It was there when the country was first settled, and large trees were growing on it. The ground has since been cleared and cultivated, and the ring is nearly obliterated. The soil was piled about one foot high, forming the ring; and on the east and on the west side were openings—paths—leading into it. The use to which it was put is not known. It is likely that a very large Indian wigwam stood there, and that soil was thrown up all around the wall to keep out the wind, and that the two openings spoken of were the wigwam doors. Indians in the western country still build that way, although their wigwams are seldom so large. After their wigwams are rotted down, or are burst down, or are removed, the ring of earth remains, with usually one opening at the door, but sometimes two. Within a quarter of a mile of the ring at Crickard are three mounds.

No man knows when the mounds in Tygart's Valley were built. They were all used as graves, so far as investigated. The most recent of them may be safely considered as 200 years old and some of them may be a thousand. Everything goes to show that Tygart's Valley was thickly settled. That is, it was well populated from an Indian standpoint, although it is likely that at its best it did not contain one Indian where there are twenty white people now. It was a famous hunting ground; and long after the Indians ceased to live here, they occasionally came back to hunt.

GENERAL ROSSER'S HUMOR.

General Rosser with a small force of cavalry made a night attack upon Beverly in January, 1865, and captured several hundred Union soldiers who had been under the command of Colonel Yosari. The weather was cold and snowy, and after burning the bridge at Beverly, the Confederates fell back up the river, marching their barefoot prisoners through the snow, causing much suffering. They went into camp above Huttonsville, on the farm of Hamilton Stalmaker, an ardent sympathizer with the South. The soldiers were chilled, and there being plenty of rails at hand they soon had blazing fires, and Mr. Stalmaker's fence went up in smoke, serving as fuel. His brother, Warwick Stalmaker, lived on an adjoining farm, and was a supporter of the cause of the North. Rosser's troops did not happen to get across the line to Warwick's rails. Seeing this, Hamilton Stalmaker went to camp to make a complaint: "General Rosser," said he, "I am one of the strongest southern men in all this country and you have burnt all my rails; while brother Warwick is one of the strongest northern men in all this country, and you have not touched his rails." Rosser looked at him and answered: "Never mind, Mr. Stalmaker; we will get to Warwick's rails after awhile."

PANEGYRIC ON TYGART'S VALLEY.

In 1861 General McClellan took possession of Beverly, the day after the battle of Rich Mountain. Two days later he wrote to his wife, describing Tygart's Valley. His praise of the scenery is more remarkable because he had seen all the fairest parts of the world. In his letter he said: "The valley in which we are is one of the most beautiful I ever saw, and I am more inclined than ever to make my headquarters at Beverly. Beverly is a quiet, old-fashioned town, in a lovely valley, a beautiful stream running by it, a perfect pastoral scene, such as old painters dreamed of but never realized * * * * Our ride today was magnificent; some of the most splendid mountain views I ever beheld." *

DEATH OF MARION HARDING.

In October, 1862, a skirmish took place at Elkwater, in which one Federal and one Confederate (Marion Harding) lost their lives. It is somewhat remarkable that both men died from a wound in the leg. The fight took place in and about the entrenchment on a knoll below the main fortifications at Elkwater, near where Alexander Stalmaker then lived. Ten Federals had accompanied J. F. Phares, who was then Sheriff, in a trip up the valley. They stopped at Alexander Stalmaker's to spend the night. Four Confederate soldiers, with three citizens, were scouting in that vicinity, under command of Major J. F. Harding. They discovered the Federals and the Federals discovered them just before daybreak, and in the skirmish

* From "McClellan's Own Story."

which followed Marion Harding was shot in the leg above the knee and bled to death in a few minutes. A Federal, similarly wounded, was taken to Stalnaker's by his comrades, and was left there. Major Harding wrote a letter to the Federal commander at Beverly, informing him of the fight, and stating that a doctor and an ambulance might be sent for the wounded man, provided that no guard were sent along, and provided that the corpse of his brother Marion be taken to Beverly also. But, if a guard were sent, it would be fought. The doctor went alone, and the wounded and dead were taken to Beverly. The Federal died of his wound.

HISTORIC BATTLE FLAG.

A Confederate battle flag, which was carried through more than fifty battles and unnumbered skirmishes, is in possession of S. N. Bosworth, of Beverly, who fought with the flag from the commencement to the close of the war, except the time he was in a Federal prison. The flag shows the scars of battle. It was carried with the Thirty-first Virginia Infantry, which was largely made up of Randolph County men. The regiment saw its first service at Philippi, June 3, 1861, when Porterfield was defeated by Kelley. It was at Laurel Hill with Garnett, and retreated with him, and was at the battle of Corrick's Ford. It took part in the following battles, in all of which, after May 5, 1862, the flag was borne: Greenbrier River, Elk Mountain, Alleghany Mountain, Jack Mountain, McDowell, Front Royal, Winchester (against Banks), Strasburg (against Fremont), Cross Keys, Port Republic (where half its men were killed or wounded), the Seven Days Battles below Richmond, Slaughter Mountain, Warrenton Springs, Bristow Station (where Pope's headquarters were captured), Second Battle of Bull Run, Fairfax Court-House, Harper's Ferry (Antietam campaign), Antietam, Frederickburg, Boverly (Imboden's Raid), Winchester (against Milroy), Gettysburg, Bristow Station, Raccoon Ford, Mourton's Ford, The Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court-House, and the fighting from there around to Richmond and Petersburg, Early's Maryland Campaign, Kernstown, The Opequon Campaign (against Sheridan), Fisher's Hill, Waynesboro', Cedar Creek, Fort Steadman. This regiment captured Fort Steadman, with 400 prisoners, but subsequently lost nearly all of its own men. Eighteen men surrendered. The flag was presented to the regiment by Stonewall Jackson, May 5, 1862. A ragged hole was torn in one side of the flag by a shell. It is said that the report caused by the impact of the shell against the flag, as heard by those a few feet away, was little less than the sharp crack of a rifle. The stars and cross in the flag were stitched by hand. They seem to have been white originally, on a red field. The white is soiled and the red faded.

THE MILL CREEK CHURCH FIGHT.

On October 1, 1863, a skirmish took place at Mill Creek Church, ten miles south of Beverly, between 48 Confederates, commanded by Captain Hill, and 63 Federals of the Eighth Ohio Regiment, under Captain Beckell. The Confederates had come on a scout from the Greenbrier River, and took the Federals by surprise. The old church at Mill Creek shows the marks of bullets. Captain Beckell surrendered and his men were paroled, but their horses and equipments were taken. On their return across Cheat Mountain the Confederates met a squad of twelve Federals under Lieutenant

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ant, who escaped. In all, the Confederates captured 95 horses on the expedition.

SAW THE MOON CHANGE.

So far as known, the only man on earth who ever saw the moon change lived in Randolph County. While Peter Conrad was testifying in court early in the nineteenth century, he stated that he had seen that phenomenon, adding that "the moon just flopped over like a pancake." His home was in the upper end of the valley. It is related that a peddler once stopped with him over night and when he asked for his bill in the morning Mr. Conrad replied: "I have been keeping tavern here nigh on to forty years, and I never charged a man yet, and I guess I will not begin with you, stranger."

"HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE."

The ancient Roman story of how Horatius held the bridge against an army, had a counterpart in Randolph during the Civil War, although the bridge had been burnt and only the ford was held. But ours did not approach the sublimity of the Roman exploit because there was not so much at stake, but the result, although on a small scale, was not dissimilar. At any rate the story is worth preserving. In February or March, 1863, thirteen Confederates, under command of Major F. J. Harding, were sent from Hightown, Virginia, into Randolph to recruit horses. They went as far down as Leading Creek, and having obtained a number of horses, returned up the valley to Huttonsville and above, where they visited their old acquaintances, and thus scattered themselves about the neighborhood. Among the men were Eugene Isner, Squire B. Kittle, Jacob G. Ward, John Killingsworth, Samuel B. Wamsley, Claiborne Ashford, James Shannon, Lee M. Ward and A. B. Crouch.

While visiting old neighbors, and scattered up and down the country, 24 Federals (3 of the them citizens) under Lieutenant Wilmon W. Swain, put in an appearance, and searched houses and rode here and there hunting for them, and succeeded in capturing D. D. Dix, nephew of Stonewall Jackson, at Washington Ward's. Major Harding, who was at Mrs. Kitty Crouch's, had a narrow escape, he being upstairs while the Federals stopped in the yard, fed their horses and some of them went in the house and asked for him. But they did not search the house, nor did they find Major Harding's horse, which was in the barn. When they took their departure, he mounted his horse and followed them, frequently in sight. Meeting Eugene Isner, he dispatched him through the neighborhood to gather up the Confederates.

Just after the Federals had crossed the ford where the Huttonsville bridge had been burnt, Major Harding reached the bank and shot at them. They came back, shooting; and Major Harding sheltered himself in a low place beyond the south bank where the hallets could not reach him. He had only three loads for his gun; but the Federals were shy about charging across the river, although they threatened several times to do so. But when they advanced, he would show himself and they would fall back and begin shooting. He would immediately get out of range. They talked with him, called on him to surrender, swore at him, quarreled with him, wasted hundreds of rounds of ammunition, all to no purpose. Finally Lieutenant Swain accused him of fooling with them and trying to hold them there until Confederates could come down the north side of the river

and cut them off. The Lieutenant's surmise was not far wrong, and calling off his men he moved down the road to John Shreve's. In the meantime Confederates had come up until their squad numbered thirteen; and when they overtook the Federals there was a fight. While the Confederates were scattered, the Federals charged them in solid column. They were met by a charge from a portion of the Confederates, and gave ground before they met. Major Harding fired his last load and wounded a soldier (whose wound was dressed by Dr. Yokum); and grasping his gun by the muzzle prepared to club it; but the Federals got out of the way, crossed the mountain to Middle Fork and escaped. Lieutenant Swain in speaking of the affair afterwards said, half in jest: "They were pretty good fellows, and will fight all right, and when I saw one of them grab his gun by the muzzle and start at me, I knew I would have to get out of his way or kill him, and I did not want to kill him."

AN HISTORIC SPOT

There is in the town of Beverly a spot of more than local interest. It is the site of the Files cabin, where occurred the first Indian massacre on the soil of West Virginia. Before Killback and Crane tomahawked the settlers on South Branch; before the peaceable Decker brothers fell victims to savage ferocity in Monongalia County; before the settlements on Patterson Creek were broken up by Shawnees and Mingoes; before the frontiersmen of Greenbrier had given their lives for the cause of civilization, the yell of the Indian had sounded through the forest of elms, oaks and sycamores where Beverly now stands, and seven persons fell before the rifle and tomahawk. There is no history and no tradition of the time when Files and his family came, nor whence they came. The supposition is that they emigrated from the South Branch to Tygart's Valley in the spring of 1753. Tygart's family, which settled on the river two miles above, probably came at the same time. Tradition says that the Files cabin stood about fifty yards, a little north of west, from Stark L. Baker's mill, on a high point of land which at that time was washed on one side by Files Creek, but the course of the stream has since changed, and the old channel is filled with soil and is used for pasture. Its ancient course can be plainly seen. Men are yet living who, as boys, snared trout where cattle now graze. It is believed that the bodies of Files and his family were buried beneath the present railroad, a few steps west of where the cabin stood. Files had cleared some ground, no doubt immediately round his house. When the valley was again settled, about twenty years after the massacre, an orchard was planted where the Files cabin had stood. One of those apple-trees was cut down when the railroad was built. The log lies there yet. The number of rings of annual growth counted on the log, added to the number of years since the tree was cut, indicates that the tree was planted about 1775. The statement was long accepted as history that the bones of the Files family were buried in 1772, but the discovery of documents at Richmond within the past few years, seems to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement, although the more lately discovered documents are not positive and conclusive, and should not be given too much weight as against the statement of Withers,



Site of Files' Cabin.

who visited the scene and talked with the old settlers nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Withers was told that the Westfalls discovered the bodies and buried them in 1772. The Richmond documents indicate that the bodies were discovered February 4, 1754, a few months after the massacre, and the presumption is that those who discovered the bodies buried them. Such may not have been the case, however, and it is possible that both Withers and the Richmond authority are correct. There is not necessarily a conflict between them.

The tradition is that when the Indians attacked the family one of the sons was on the opposite side of the creek. Hearing the shrieks at the house, he approached near enough to see that Indians were murdering the inmates, and being unable to render any assistance, he fled to Tygart's, and that family immediately set out for the South Branch, following an Indian trail which led from Valley Head across the mountain by the way of Flying Hawk. It is not known whether the Indians proceeded up the valley to Tygart's cabin. That massacre occurred in a time of peace, when the Indians were supposed to be friendly. They were in the habit of visiting the settlements along the South Branch and in the Valley of Virginia, from Winchester to Staunton, and stopping at houses to procure food, but harboring no one. For this reason the people were not afraid of them, and no doubt Files and Tygart felt no more danger west of the mountains than was felt by settlers east of the range. That accounts for those families venturing so far from settlements to make their homes. No war existed; and having been accustomed to seeing Indians in the older neighborhoods, they had no reason to look for any different state of affairs in their new abode. But the Indians were treacherous, and occasionally committed outrages while professing friendship. The party that murdered the Files family had carried away a boy from the South Branch, and the boy was probably a witness to the massacre. There is evidence that Tygart's Valley was a favorite hunting ground for Indians from both Pennsylvania and Ohio. The numerous paths made by them, not only across the mountains, both east and west from the valley, but also spread down, is proof that they were frequent visitors. There were several holes in the valley frequented by deer. Jacob Wren, a very old and highly respected grancan still residing in Hedgesburg, says that Indian tracks led by all the holes, showing that the savages hunted frequently in the valley. This probably gives a hint of why they murdered the Files family. It was because they had dared to settle on the Indian hunting grounds. The natives had acquired in the course of the century east of the mountains lands by the white man, and had ceased to hunt there. This at least was partly true. But they were not willing to give up the country west of the range, and when they found a family occupying the beautiful Tygart's Val-



Indian trails in Tygart's Valley. See also page 177.

ley, one of their best hunting grounds, they fell on them and murdered them, although in time of peace. This probably is the correct explanation. It is believed that the deed was committed by Indians who lived on Allegheny River, in Pennsylvania.



SITE OF WESTFALL'S FORT

yards distant, furnished water for the inmates.

WOUNDED EIGHTEEN TIMES.

The case of Lorenzo Adams, a Confederate soldier belonging to Imboden's command, is remarkable for the fact that after receiving eighteen gunshot wounds in the head he recovered. Nine of Imboden's men who had been scouting in Barbour County, crossed into Tucker, and three miles above St. George, robbed David Wheeler's store. They were pursued by troops from St. George, under Lieutenant Gallion, up Dry Fork. Gallion turned the pursuit over to Captain Nathaniel J. Lambert with the Home Guards, known as "Swamps." They followed the Confederates and came upon them when asleep and fired upon them at a distance of a few yards. Two Confederates were killed and Adams was wounded. He was supposed to be dead, but when the Federals pulled his boots off he showed signs of life. They beat him on the head with a gun, and supposed they had finished him. But after they had gone, he recovered consciousness, and in trying to gain his feet, he fell into the fire and burned his hands almost off. The next day Archibald Earle went to the camp to bury the dead, and finding Adams alive, took him to Hightown, where he recovered. An ounce ball was taken from under his skull.

SOUVENIRS OF THE WAR.

Among souvenirs of the war, in possession of S. N. Bosworth of Beverly, is the original master-roll of company H, Thirty-first Virginia Infantry, which was from Barbour County, Thomas A. Bradford, Captain, as shown by the roll. Mr. Bosworth has his furlough, which contains a number of signatures of noted men, among them being General Pegram, General E. L. Ewell, Adjutant General W. N. Taylor. He has also a musket barrel and bayonet picked up a few years ago in the woods about a mile from the battlefield of Rich Mountain, and nearby was found the skeleton of a man, supposed to have been a Confederate who was wounded in the battle and died in the woods. The stock of the gun was apparently burned off in a woods fire. The barrel had burst, caused, as is presumed, by rainwater collecting in it, and freezing.

AT MALVERN HILL.

At the battle of Malvern Hill the Confederates were driven back in their efforts to storm the Federal position. General Lee prepared for another charge the next morning. He picked his troops for the charge.

Different regiments sent soldiers who were willing to undertake the desperate work. The Thirty-first Virginia Regiment sent thirty-two men, and of that number sixteen were from Randolph County. The troops massed for the charge and lay on the ground all night within less than half a mile of the Federal artillery, waiting for morning. Before morning the Federals withdrew and the charge was not necessary. Randolph County furnished about 200 soldiers for the Confederate army. The first company to go was Company F, which was mustered in at Huttonsville, May 24, 1861.

RELICS AND CUSTOMS THAT ARE PASSING.

Randolph County, covering a wide and diversified region of valley and mountains, holds within its borders a peculiar blending of the past and present. Relics of the "good old times" are to be found in nooks and corners, side by side with the development of newer things; the modern painted house, and the log cabin in the yard; the steel bridge, and the out-of-date wooden arch-structure; the mowing machine and the reaper, and the scythe and the cradle; the repeating rifle and the muzzle loader of a century ago; the railroad and the bridle-path; the log school-house like that in which Ichabod Crane lifted the urchins over the tall words with a hickory, and the neat, scientific frame or brick structures. The old times were good, but no better than the present. In most things they were not so good.



The painted and ventilated house is better than the cabins of the grandfathers, because more comfortable; the iron bridge is better than the wooden, because stronger; the mowing machine and the reaper require less labor than the scythe and the cradle, and are therefore to be preferred. It is no disparagement of the log-cabin schools and the Ichabod Cranes of former days to say that education in all its departments and appliances has made wonderful advances since then. To appreciate modern things, we should cultivate our acquaintance with and keep warm our veneration for what is past. The better the historians, the better the patriots. From a thousand channels the past enriches the present; and to appreciate the present and prepare for the future, we must trace back to their sources the streams which come to us from the years gone by.



COURT IN THE WILDERNESS.

While Judge Camden was on the bench the weather was very warm during a session of the Randolph court, and he ordered court next day to commence "at the falls of Cheat River." Accordingly the judge, the clerk and the lawyers went up Pines Creek, crossed Cheat Mountain and held court on Shaver's Fork. Neash Curley was chief cook, teamster and assist-

ant fisherman. The minutes of the court show that the causes "were argued in chambers."

A METHODIST PREACHER'S POEM.

Randolph County has sent out many orators but few poets. About the only effort at "pure literature," at least in early times, was made by a Methodist preacher, near the beginning of the present century. His name is now forgotten, but traditions concerning him are yet current. Some suppose it was Lorenzo Dow. The poem in meter and style, resembles Dow's "Morning Vision." The poet was probably not Dow. It is not known how much poetry he wrote, but one poem of some length, called "Randolph County" exists in manuscript. The poetry is not of the highest order, but it is doubtful if Homer painted truer to nature, as nature existed in Randolph a century ago. Witness these lines, alive, no doubt, with personal experience:

"The hungry bear's portentous growl;
The famished wolf's unearthly howl;
The prowling panther's keenest yell—
These echo from the gloomy dell."

After speaking more fully of the almost undisputed reign of the forest brutes, and the dangers to the settlers, he sums his conclusion thus:

"But still man holds his dwelling there,
Defying panther, wolf and bear;
But prowling 'varmints' plainly tell
This is no place for man to dwell."

The poetic parson was fond of wreathing garlands of poetry around the mountain peaks of Randolph, and glancing into the ravines to see what was there. One verse will suffice as an example:

"The mountains high with grandeur rise
And reach the everlasting skies;
The vales between are dark and wild,
And streamlets dash or murmur sild."

The rivers are antitheses of the mountains, and the preacher never spoke of the one but that the next stanza took up the other. There is probably some history in the last two lines:

"The roaring rivers, rough and wide,
Dash down, or pause and softly glide;
And oftentimes their rushing waves
Bear dwellers down to watery graves."

The itinerant evangelist saw other things than mountains and wolves. He saw the moral and religious side of the people. The picture which he painted was probably not a fanciful one, since the early court records of Randolph often show a dozen or more indictments in one day for "provably swearing." Here is the preacher's version of it:

"Too many souls these valleys in
Are lost in doubt and dead in sin;
Too few the knees that bend in prayer;
Too many tongues that curse and swear."

"Too few that tread the Narrow Path;
Too many on the road to writh;
Too many hearts as hard as stones;
Too few the pilgrims to the Throne."

However discouraging this picture may be, the poet softened its shades

and throw in some refuting terms from a solemn summit, before he can climb it. The following verse is summing up the argument:

"But in just day of wrath and doom,
When Godlike vengeance burst the tomb,
Above these mountains still arise
Ten thousand souls to tell His skies."

THE EARLY PHENIXTYLLAUM.⁸

So far as records show, the first religious services held within Randolph County was by the Presbyterians. In 1781 Rev. Edward Crawford, from the Valley of Virginia, preached two sermons in Tygart's Valley. In 1787 Rev. William Wilson, of the "Old Stone Church of Augusta," preached two sermons. The next year Rev. Moses Hogan preached twice; and in 1799 Rev. Wilson came again and preached two sermons. For many years after that there is no record of any preaching in the Valley. Some time prior to 1820 Rev. Asa Brooks, of New England, visited the Valley as a missionary. He subsequently settled in Clarksburg, where he died in 1838. The first minister who made Tygart's Valley his home was Rev. Arntas Lenzius, 1820. About that time Daniel McLean, Jonathan Hutton and Andrew Crawford met at Crawford's house and organized a church. Prior to that time there was no organized congregation in Randolph. Matthew Whitman was elected a ruling elder. In 1828 Adam See deeded three acres near Huttonsville on which to build a church. Rev. Lenzius preached in the court-house and in private houses. In 1830 the church near Huttonsville was commenced. It cost \$1000, and was destroyed by Federal soldiers. In 1828 Rev. George A. Baxter, of Lexington, preached in the county; and in 1831 Rev. Henry Brown. At this time the church had 100 members and five elders, Mathew Whitman, Daniel McLean, Andrew Crawford, Simon Bostwick and Jonathan Hutton. In 1832 Rev. John S. Blodin and Rev. James Haber both preached in the county; and in 1833 Rev. Blodin came again and remained three years. Rev. Joseph Brown was here in 1840, and Rev. Theodore Lathrop in 1841. In that year the Mingo Church was organized with Wm. H. Wilmer and Wm. Legg as elders, and Rev. H. Churchill preached there, and a license of worship was held by A. C. Legg for \$416, on a lot deeded by Edward Wood. It stands today. Rev. Ranch Thomas preached the first sermon in it, and Rev. Henry Brown dedicated it. In 1844 there were 80 Presbyterians in the Valley between the mouth of Elkhorn and the head of Leading Creek. Rev. Ranch Thomas was in charge from 1844 to 1850. Rev. Robert Scott from 1857 to 1875; Rev. Patterson Fletcher from 1875 to 1878; Rev. Phineas Bryan, 1881; Rev. Samuel J. Laird, 1884; Rev. J. N. Van Devanter, 1897; Rev. Charles D. Gilkeson, 1898.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Methodists were regarded as the pioneers in religion on the frontier. It is not known how early they came to Randolph, for they kept poor records in early times. The court records speak of Adam Burge in 1807, and mention of no earlier Methodist is found, although it is probable that Burge was not the first. Among others, some named in the court records, and others obtained from older sources, were: John R. West, 1808; Walter Athey, 1828; John McNauley, 1830; James L. Turner, 1838;

⁸The facts herein stated were mostly obtained from Rev. Charles D. Gilkeson of Beverly, A. T., Logan of Mingo, and from a pamphlet ("Report of the Presbytery") published half a century ago, and now very rare.

David M. Nixon, 1804; W. M. Laspur, 1835; George Monroe, 1835; Chester Morrison, 1836; John Anger, 1840; David Gordon, 1840; David Hess, 1841; Jacob Pittman, 1841; Gibson Martin, 1842; Henry Clay Dean, 1846; Benjamin James, 1847; Parson Shool, 1847; Henry Newman, 1850; Cornelius Whitescott, 1850; Samuel D. Jones, 1851; Richard M. Wallace, 1852; Aaron Bowes, 1856; Daniel G. Newell, 1858; Wilson L. Hanguan, 1860; Gilbert Rogers, 1864; Daniel G. Newell, 1864; N. H. D. Peckoff, 1867; Thomas M. Hartley, 1868; John John Birrell, 1869; C. H. D. Peckoff, 1871; Thomas M. Hartley, 1874; Asbury Mick, L. Robeson, 1871; Hounding Puggy, 1871; John Wilmoth, 1874; Asbury Mick, L. Robeson, 1871; Anthony Mustoe, 1881; John Adamson, 1881; R. C. Woodruff, 1881; Fred Colwell, 1884; J. N. Sharp, 1887; Cyrus Poling, 1889; Woodruff, 1890; Fred Colwell, 1891; J. N. Sharp, 1897; Cyrus Poling, 1898; J. S. Robinson, 1898; P. A. Fling, 1899; Luther C. Scott, 1894; James W. Fuglin, 1895.

THE PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS.

This church had a very early organization in Randolph County. One of the earliest as well as the most eloquent of its preachers was Elder Thomas Collett, born 1786, died 1873. Under his management the old church—the oldest now standing in Randolph—was built four miles below Beverly. The edifice was a fine one in its day; it had a gallery and a high pulpit. The house was of logs, but several years before the Civil War it was weather-boarded. During the war soldiers tore off nearly all the weather-boarding and the roof. It was never thoroughly repaired afterwards, and was abandoned many years ago, the denomination building a new house of worship near Beck, where 28 members now worship. The old church is still an object of veneration in the neighborhood. The first preacher there was Thomas Collett. He preached long at



Elder Thomas's early church.

but he became blind. He was succeeded by Elder Nathan Everett from Pennsylvania, and following him Elder Joseph Dow, of Barbour County. Next was Elder Ezra P. Hart; then Elder Elias Murphy, followed by Elder Hart again, and Elder Stephen D. Lewis is the present pastor. There is another congregation of this church on Leading Creek, with a house of worship and 15 members. The first preacher there was Elder David Murphy, next, Elder James Murphy, the present incumbent, who although unable to walk, still expounds the Scripture to his people.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The first in Randolph County was organized at Beverly, 1844, by Rev. E. H. Davis, and by the Pittsburgh Conference, all of West Virginia being in the Wheeling District of the Pittsburgh Conference. The second A. M. E. Church in Randolph was organized by Rev. Davis at Clarksburg, 1850. The Beverly church has thirty members, that at Clarksburg has twelve.

Mr. Basier has been the only worker among the colored people of the county, both in religious and educational matters, except the presiding elder, Rev. J. W. Riley, and Rev. T. A. Green, who conducted the quarterly meetings and Rev. Garnett of Elkins.

Mr. Basier is a native of Pennsylvania, born at Pittsburg 1865, and beginning his education under many discouragements, in the country schools, but subsequently attending college both at Wooster and Wilberforce, Ohio. When thirteen he clerked at a store at McKersport, and subsequently with wholesale merchants at Pittsburg. He saved money with which to educate himself. In 1886 he entered the ministry and was appointed to the Boone County mission, in West Virginia, where he organized schools and churches, and was the first teacher of colored children in that county. He labored also in Raleigh, Logan and Wyoming Counties. In 1894 he was appointed by Bishop Arnett to the Beverly mission. His field here was hard, the colored people being mostly poor and uneducated; but by perseverance he performed a permanent work, and built two houses of worship. He was also the first to teach the colored people of Randolph County. In 1894 he opened a school at Beverly, after securing a teacher's certificate, and has taught the school five months each year. In the winter, after closing the Beverly term, he opens a school at Cassity Fork. Under his excellent methods of teaching, his pupils make remarkable progress, and in educational and moral advancement they compare favorably with any colored people in the country.

THE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH.

The first organized Baptist Church of that denomination in the county appears to have been founded in December, 1890, in Elkins, by Rev. W. E. Powell, of Parkersburg, general missionary of the Baptists of West Virginia. The church contained 17 members, and a Sunday School was organized. Rev. Amos Robinson, of the First Baptist Church of Bristol, R. I., was called to become pastor. The building, with the lots cost \$15,500, and was dedicated November 22, 1891. It has now 58 members, although several have moved away. In March, 1895, Rev. Robinson organized a church of twelve members in Hardling, and Rev. M. P. H. Potts was chosen pastor. In September of the same year a church was organized at Fairlawn, with twelve members. From 1890 to 1890 Rev. Potts preached to a small congregation near Valley Bend, but no church was built.

METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.

The first Minister of the M. P. Church in Randolph, as far as known, was James Chambers, who is shown by the court records to have been authorized in 1848 to solemnize marriages. The records kept by the church are the nearest fragments. From that source it is learned that the following preachers have labored in the county: H. T. Davis, 1875; A. H. Haney, 1877; Rev. Chipps, 1878; D. M. Simonson, 1880; Isaac Schelltron, 1884; R. J. Harris, 1885; Oliver Westfall, 1885; W. E. Fletcher, 1888; Oliver Westfall, 1893; J. C. Roma, 1891. A house of worship was built on Roaring Creek many years ago. In 1898 one was built in Beverly through the exertion of R. J. Kildow, assisted by George M. Wren and George W. Prints, as a building committee. The lot was donated by Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Williamson; G. W. Prints was the architect, and A. H. Bodyschell the builder. Arthur Lauer was the first licensed preacher. The famous preacher, Rev.

Samuel J. Clawson, who was of mixed Indian blood, did missionary work in Randolph in early years. Many of the older people remember his eccentricities and flowery, fiery and grandiloquent language. Near Huttonsville, when discouraged with the success of his meeting, only five having joined the church, he expressed his disgust thus:

"I have been fishing, and after thrashing any thicket among the thorns and thickets of perfidy, and wading and floundering in theasty pools of abomination, my only reward is that I have caught one shad, two herring and two old roosters."

Again, near the same place, his success in persuading the wicked to turn from their evil ways, was not up to his expectations, and he stopped short in his sermon, and raising his voice, poured forth this prophetic anathema against those who had failed to repent:

"Thank God, the day is not far distant when you miserable and unrepentant sinners will be chained down on hell's broken floor, and the devil with his three pronged harpoon will pierce your reeking hearts, and pile upon you the red hot cinders of black damnation, as high as the Pyramids of Egypt, and fry the pride out of your hearts to grouse the guineas of the rag-wheels of hell."

On still another occasion, in Tygart's Valley, Clawson preached at a school-house in a community where there were a number of "Free Thinkers," who were disposed to argue points of theology with ministers who went there. Someone informed Clawson of it and told him what to expect. When he took the pulpit he prefaced his sermon as follows:

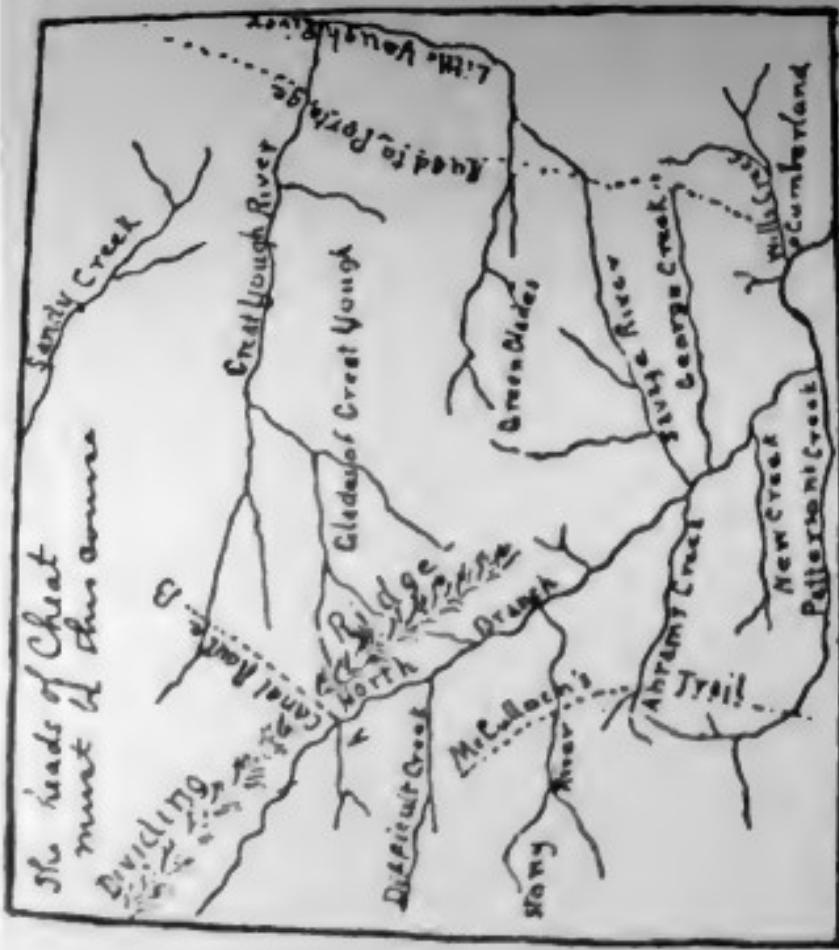
"I understand there is a gang here who call themselves 'No-Hellers,' and that they are in the habit of attacking preachers who come here to expound the gospel. I serve notice on you that if any of you speak to me here to night, or any other time, I will knock you higher than the Tower of Babel."

The preacher was in no way interfered with nor interrogated on theological subjects.



Washington's Map.

Washington's Map.



Eli Moore was born in Barbour County, 1851, son of Solomon W. and Clarissa H. (Schoonover) Moore. In 1876 he married Clara A., daughter of Rev. A. Mustoe. Children, Ezekiel H., Charles M., Alice M., Lawrence, Simeon, Anthony, Lilly, Leslie, Lona and Lulu. He began as a farmer in Barbour, then in Randolph and in 1890 engaged in the mercantile business at Montrose, being Town Sergeant one year. His grandfather, William Moore, was born in Loudon County.

W. A. MOORE, born 1833 in Pocahontas County, son of Addison and Elizabeth Moore; Irish, German and English ancestry. In 1856 he married Mary A., daughter of John and Mary McCoy. She dying, he married Virginia L., daughter of Benjamin Jacksonson. Children, George Anna, Edgar W., Virda L., Lucy M., Harry H., Rosa L. and Wm. H. He has followed the business of farmer, blacksmith and merchant, and now keeps hotel at Huttonsville; entered the Confederate army in 1863; was taken prisoner in 1864; took part in the battles of Winchester, Droop Mountain, Fisher's Hill and in many skirmishes.

BUEY WILLIAM MOORE, born 1858, son of James A. and Sarah (Chanel) Moore; Scotch-Irish; was married in 1878 to Virginia E., daughter of Merican and Sarah (Simmons) Moore. Children, Marion, Sarah, Elvira, Roy, Viola and Ali. He owns 140 acres, mostly improved; lived three years in Kansas. The first of the Moore family, Joseph, came from Bath County. His children were, Ann, who married Mr. Welch; Clara, married Jerry Chunnel; James, married Sarah Channel; Blain, married H. B. Marshall; Jennette, married John Edminster, Eliza, married Sam Hepier; John married Ida Burger. Wood Moore, brother of Joseph, had the following children: Martha, Sarah, Samuel, Merican, Virginia, Dorphan, Sidney, Penelope, Josiah and Augustus. Their descendants are numerous in Ran-

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Virginia L., daughter of Benjamin Jackson. Children, George Anna, Edgar W., Virda L., Lucy M., Harry H., Rosa L. and Wm. H. He has followed the business of farmer, blacksmith and merchant, and now keeps hotel at Huttonsville; entered the Confederate army in 1863; was taken prisoner in 1864; took part in the battles of Winchester, Droop Mountain, Fisher's Hill and in many skirmishes.

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THOMAS MERICAN MOORE, born 1835, son of Wood and Mary (Wood) Moore; Scotch-Irish; married 1856 to Sarah Ann, daughter of Adam and

and Rebecca (Clem) Martoney. In 1890 we find a son, Francis, and their children are Ida, Kent, Cora, Edward, George W., Mattie, Charley, Perry and Clyde. He is a farmer near Laurel. William Martoney was his grandfather and was a prominent man and efficient officer in the early years of Randolph County, and being a slaveholder in his lifetime, when he came to die he set the slaves free.

EDWARD MARTENEY, son of Jefferson, married Ceba Yokum in 1880, and after her death he married Daisy, daughter of Creed Kittle. Children, Willie, Mattie, Mandie and Ruth.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT MCELWEE, born 1846 in Pocahontas County, son of John and Mahala (Nottingham) McElwee; Irish descent. In 1872 at Valley Bend he married Virginia E. daughter of Samuel L. and Syrena Ann (Haigler) Wamsley; children, Walter Warren, Flossie Ford, Lado Lorne, Jewell Holt, Orman Day and Hallie May. Mrs. McElwee died 1892, and in 1896 he married Eliza E., daughter of Adam and Sarah (McDonald) Arbogast of Pocahontas County. His father was a carpenter, and in 1848 moved to Hot Springs, Va., and from there to Pocahontas, then to Randolph, settling first near Huttonsville, and in 1857 in Elkins. Mr. McElwee was in

FAMILY HISTORY.

the Confederate Army, and was in the battles of Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, Antietam, Gettysburg, Spotsylvania, around Richmond, and many others. His brother Bud was at Rich Mountain, and surrendered. Mrs. Mahala McElwee is still living, aged 87. Her children were, Andrew B., Margaret J., Bud D., Sarah E., Divers B., Francis L., Bernard T. and Button G. Mr. McElwee's grandfather was drowned on the voyage from Ireland to America.

CHARLES MOYERS, born 1870, in Pendleton, son of Henry and Sally (Eye) Moyers; German-Irish parentage; was married in 1890 to Polly E., daughter of John and Deniza (Hartman) Kile; children, Arthur Burlin, Sally May and Mary Jane. He owns six acres, two improved; is a blacksmith, living at Valley Head.

JOHN MOYLE, a merchant of Elkins, was born in Baltimore; in 1887 married Bridget Ann Gillooly, and their children are Mary C., Frances G., Bertha V., Elizabeth, Ann, John J., Bernard, and Edward D. Mr. Moyle came to Randolph from Ohio, and by trade is a steel worker.

JOHN A. MOORE, born 1864 in Tyler County, son of Rolie Moore, married Ida Collett and has one child, Elmer.

DAVID ROSS MARTIN, born in 1851 in Marion County, son of George W. Martin, married Anna Maria G. Harry

Page L., Burr D., Ella M., Nancy R., and Jared F. UT these. Rev. W. H. in
Oklahoma and Page in Ohio. Mr. Parsons came to Randolph in 1892 and
owns a sixty-six acre farm near Montrose.

REV. MATTHIAS PORTER HAMILTON POTTS, born 1846 in Pocahontas
County, son of M. C. Potts. His father was born in 1803, and in 1833 mar-
ried Rachel Warwick McCabe. Rev. Potts married Martha Elizabeth,
daughter of Alexander C. Logan in 1872. After her death he married
Maggie, daughter of Joseph and Isabel (Green) Baxter. Children, Laura
Moore, Lena Gay, Joanna, John Alexander Broadus, Bucy Holden, and
Lily Mabell. His great grandfather came from England, and his son Ben-
jamin Pott, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was born in Maryland
1773. Rev. Potts entered the ministry in 1877, preaching under the direc-
tion of the West Virginia Baptist State Mission Board. In 1890 he resigned
his work and moved to Elkins and opened the Temperance Hotel. He still
preaches but has no regular work. His father was born in Bath Co., and when
twenty-seven years old he moved to Pocahontas, and fourteen years later to
Randolph, three miles east of Valley Head, where he was eight years a
Justice of the Peace. He had four sons in the Confederate Army. He died
at Huntington, W. Va., 1882. Of his four sons, Benjamin F. died in Poca-
hontas; Lieutenant J. N. Potts is Chief of Police at Huntington, W. Va.;
Capt. L. G. Potts lives at McConnellsburg, Pa.; the fourth is the subject of
this sketch, who was a soldier in the Confederate army.

JAMES OSCAR POTTS, born 1860, son of Benjamin F. and Mary Potts,
Irish and German ancestry; was married in 1880 to Eugenia, daughter of
John and Anna Minta

R. Howe. Her mother was Maria Myers before marriage. Children, Minerva, Ellen, Nettie V., Lavina. He is a dairyman.

WATSON DIVEN SHARP, born 1872, son of William W., and Elizabeth (Barlow) Sharp; Scotch-Irish; married 1891 in Pocahontas County to Elizabeth E., daughter of Ebenezer and Margaret (Swecker) Mace. Children, Ivy Cameron, Myrtle Rowena, Grace Dale. He owns 190 acres, 100 improved; kept the Mingo hotel a year; was licensed in 1897 by the M. E. Church South, to preach.

HENRY SPIES, born 1857 in Germany, son of John and Katherine (Klappart) Spies; married 1892 to Lina, daughter of Frederick and Henrietta Abelmann. Children, Louise, Edwin Otto, Annie Katie, Henritta, Hernine. He is a merchant and lumberman at Pickens.

COLEMAN J. SCHOONOVER, born in 1839, son of Thomas and Bashaba Schoonover, German parentage. In 1865 in Tucker County he married Susan, daughter of James R. and Mahala (Mason) Parsons. After her death, 1870, he married Rachel E., daughter of Henry V. and Margaret (Wilmoth) Bowman; children, Carl W., Harriet E., James T., Lillian Adaline, A. Ward, Sansom E. and Leslie Clare. He is a farmer and owns 347 acres, 200 improved on Leading Creek, and a half interest in 3000 acres. When he was twenty-one years old he known himself as a mail carrier from

FRANCIS MARION WHITE, son of John B.; born 1838; English ancestry; was married in 1869 to Mary E., daughter of George and Elizabeth (Hart) Buckley. Children, Kent, Lizzie and Effie. Mr. White is a grandson of John White who was killed near Huttonsville in 1779 by Indians, of which further mention is made elsewhere in this hook.

JOHN B. WHITE, born 1806, son of Lorenzo D. White; in 1808 he married Lucy, daughter of Jok W. and Martha E. Daniels; children, Nellie and Howard. His grandfather, John B. White, was born 1800, and his children, Amanda, Lorenzo D., Margaret H., Francis M. and Columbia. Isaac White was his great-grandfather and married Margaret Haddan who was born in 1779; children, Polly H., John B., Rachel and Eliza.

JACOB WARWICK, although not a resident of Randolph County, yet deserves a place in its history. Few men took a more active part than he in driving out the Indians and settling the county. He lived at Clover Lick, Pocahontas County, and was a large landholder in Randolph, and his descendants now form some of the best families in the county. His people were Scotch-Irish, and he was the only survivor of the immediate family. His father was a sea captain in charge of an English ship. During one of his sojourns in a Virginia port he married a lady of that State. Soon after that he was shipwrecked and drowned, leaving a widow and a baby. Jacob Warwick was that baby; and he grew to manhood, and in 1774 when the Dunmore War came on, he enlisted, and marched with General Lewis to Point Pleasant, where he took part in the battle of Oct. 10. He was one of the flanking party which attacked the Indians from the rear and turned the scale of the battle and drove the Indians across the Ohio River. He marched with the army to Chillicothe, Ohio, where peace was made. Among the prisoners which the Indians had carried from the settlements in Virginia was a boy two years old. They had murdered all the rest of the family. When peace was made with the Indians, this boy was taken from them, and Warwick carried him on his back through the woods, 300 miles to Rockbridge Co., Va., where the boy grew up to be a useful citizen. On that occasion Warwick, carrying the child, passed through the southern end of Randolph, he having followed the Indian trail up the Kanawha, up Elk, up Valley Fork and into Tygart's Valley, and thence across the Alleghenies. Margaret, daughter of Jacob Warwick, married Adam See, one of the first lawyers to practice in Randolph County. Through the Sees he became related with the Huttons. He was one of the borsemen who escaped from the Indian ambuscade above Haddan's fort in 1781.*

CHARLES HOWARD WIMER, born 1866 in Maryland, son of Perry and Catherine (Zebungh) Wimer; German parentage; married 1890 at Elkins to Martha, daughter of Archibald E. and Virginia (Hinkle) Harper. Children, Caraleta, Mary Grace and Frank C.; was a lumberman seven years. While

*See page 184.

he was trying to rescue a companion from death in a train wreck he lost a foot and was otherwise badly hurt. He then began as a barber in Pennsylvania; came to Elkins and opened a shop on Randolph Avenue; in 1896 he moved to Davis Avenue, where he opened an elegant shop and built up a valuable trade. His father was born in Pennsylvania in 1803, and his grandfather in 1804, and died aged 90. The Winters are one of the oldest families in Pennsylvania.

O. C. WOELSDORFF, son of Leibvre and Barbara Alwilda Womesdorff, born 1850, at Pottsville, Pa.; was married 1873 to Eleanor Amelia, daughter of Isaac and Margaretta Pitman Beck, of Pottsville. Their children are Isaac Beck, who married Rosalie Cordelia Shoener of Pottsville; Stephen Harris, Helen Margaretta and Emily Thompson. Their home, "Ligenelli," is at the town of Womesdorff, named from this family. Mr. Womesdorff is the direct descendant of Capt. Philip Von Womesdorff, who came from Germany to America in 1690, and the father of the subject of this sketch was an officer in the Federal Army and was also a volunteer for the Mexican War. Mr. Womesdorff came to West Virginia in 1899 and bought large tracts of coal and timber land in Randolph County, and built the Roaring Creek and Charleston Railroad, the ultimate destination of which is Charleston.

A. I. DANIEL WILLIAMS, son of Jeremiah Williams; German descent; born 1849 in Harrison County; mother's maiden name was Celia Huff. He was married in Doddridge County in 1868 to Hettie, daughter of Nathan Davis. Children, Marion Nalissa, Alexander Washington, Marvin Carmine, California, Elsey Homer, Frederick Cole, Zara Belle. At his second marriage in 1885 he married Miss Martha Belle Hyde. He saw the first locomotive that entered Clarendon. His father was a soldier under Milroy.

WILLIAM T. WOODYARD, son of Arthur F. and Sarah A. (Brown) Woodyard, born March 12, 1864, at Massassas, Va.; was married in 1882 to Emma, daughter of Parkinson Collett; maiden name of wife's mother Azaria Chenevert; one child, Harold Gray. Mr. Woodyard taught school eight years, three as principal in Beverly. In 1890 he was elected County Superintendent. He has practiced law four years. On his mother's side he is a descendant of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his ancestors were soldiers and officers in the Revolution. He is an extensive reader and an educated man of literature, not only in his native language, but also in Greek, Latin and French.

ARON DUNCAN WHITCOTTOR, born 1849 in Highland County, son of Orson. In 1862, at West Alexander, Pa., he married Martha Elizabeth, daughter of Philip and Betty Ann Spangler. Children, Francis Wayland, Frederick Remond, Annie Kate and Ora Glenn; Farmer, and has lived in Randolph 21 years.

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Amanda, Lorenzo D., Margaret H., Francis M. and Columbia. Isaac White was his great-grandfather and married Margaret Haddan who was born in 1779; children, Polly H., John B., Rachel and Elira.

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